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TRAVELS

THROUGH

SWITZERLAND, ITALY, SICILY,

THE

GREEK ISLANDS TO CONSTANTINOPLE;

THROUGH PART OF

GREECE, RAGUSA, AND THE DALMATIAN ISLES;

In a Series of Letters to

PENNOYRE WATKINS, ESQ.

FROM

THOMAS WATKINS, A.M. F.R.S.

IN THE YEARS

1787, 1788, 1789.

Καὶ ἐν ἰθάκῃ μετ' ἀνθρα, μετ' ἀλγεα πικρὰ θαλάσσης
'Ασπασίως τὸν ὕδατος ἰκάνομαι

οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς

Ὡς ὕδεν γλυκίον ἢς πατρίδος.

Heroic. adespot. 8. ex Edit. Brunck.

Second Edition.

VOL. I.

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THE LANCET

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1881

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1881

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

COUNTESS POULETT.

YOU in a manner consented that I should dedicate the first volume of my Travels to you, on condition that I did no more than merely *inscribe* it to your Ladyship. The request was embarrassing---I wished to comply: but the recollection of your good qualities has prevented me.

Had your rank, Lady Poulett, been the motive of this address, I probably *had inscribed* it to you; it were easy to follow that mode of dedication: authors have introduced

it, who thought it necessary to compliment those whom they could not praise. For me it is not *necessary* to dedicate to any one, but I feel it *honourable* to do so to you; because, after much reflection, I can scarcely, among a numerous acquaintance, find a Lady who is your *equal* in merit, it were in vain to look for your *superiour*.

I have the Honour to be

With the greatest Respect and Esteem,

Your Ladyship's most obedient Servant,

TH. WATKINS.

London. Nov. 5, 1792.

PREFACE.

THE very favourable reception which the first edition of these Letters has met induces the Author to present them a second time to the Public, and this, without any apology (as in his former preface) for numerous errata, false pointing, &c. as they no longer exist. He has not only corrected the errors of his first Printer, but added some notes and comments to this Edition; nevertheless, the Letters are still the same as in the original manuscript. He cannot but express his obligation to the Gentlemen of the Monthly,

the Critical, and Analytical Reviews, for their candid and liberal criticism, yet, he had wished, that the taste and learning which they undoubtedly possess, had directed their attention more to his description of Sicily and Greece, than to the tour of Switzerland. He thinks the second Volume the most deserving of notice, in as much as the subject is the most interesting to the classic Reader and Antiquarian; but, he submits to their superior judgement, and is thankful for their approbation.

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TRAVELS

TRAVELS

THROUGH

SWITZERLAND,

Vol. I. Vol. I. Vol. I.

LETTER I.

Geneva, July 22, 1787.

AT length, my dear Sir, we are arrived at Geneva. I thought that my friend and companion, Mr. Pocock, could not be more known to me than he was at college, but have discovered since our departure from England many noble qualities, that had before escaped my observation. To an excellent understanding, and an extreme sweetness of temper, he joins the truest sense of honour and propriety; but I

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was

was at first convinced of his merit from his attention to his father, the most amiable and respectable of men. This city is situate upon the summit, the sides, and at the bottom of a hill, where the Rhone breaks out of the lake, in a smooth, deep, and rapid stream, the blue transparency of which resembles that of the ocean. Behind it, the Alps of Savoy bend into a magnificent theatre. At some distance, on the frontiers of France, are the mountains of Jura ; and up the lake, on its northern bank, is the rich Pays de Vaud, fronted by the rugged hills of Chablais. As it was built at a time when its thrifty citizens had probably no taste in architecture, I cannot speak favourably of it in that respect. However, it has some good edifices, and the upper part of it, on the Savoy side, being entirely new, and composed of large houses, presents a very noble appearance. The language of the place is French, though much German is spoken by the Swiss mechanics who are settled here. Provisions and house-rent are moderate ; in a word, Geneva is admirably
calculated

calculated for a place of abode, as indeed is evident from the many English gentlemen who reside here in the summer months. The little villas on the lake are now entirely occupied; the gardens of which are most convenient for bathing, or for parties on the water. Here too the prospect is much finer than from the city, as the objects of sight are enlarged and multiplied. Among these the most wonderful is Mont Blanc, that giant of the Alps, which is so much higher than the lofty mountains that surround it, as to have the sun's light upon its sides full twenty minutes longer than it can be seen on their summits. This is more particularly noticed, from that rich shade of deep crimson, which the snow of the mountain, flushed by the setting sun, assumes. But I have discovered this vast landmark, and even observed the colour, from Mount Afric, behind Dijon, at a distance that, taken in a direct line, cannot be less than a hundred English miles. The ground on which the city stands was probably, from the advantage of its situation, inha-

bited at as early a period as any of these parts of Europe. After it had been taken from the Allobroges by Julius Cæsar, he fortified and made it extremely serviceable to him in the reduction of the Helvetii, or ancient Swiss. It was then called Geneva, which the middle ages corrupted into Gebenna. At the general partage of the empire, it fell to the Burgundians, and they were succeeded by the Franks. Charlemagne, who might be said to imitate the example of Cæsar in healing the wounds of conquest by civilizing the people he had subdued, bestowed on it considerable immunities, when he assembled his army here, for his famous expedition against Didier, king of the Lombards. After his death it made part of the new kingdom of Burgundy: was again united to the German empire under Conrad the second; and then governed jointly by its own bishops and counts, who, taking advantage of the distractions in the empire, and their distance from the seat of government, threw off all dependance on their liege sovereign. The
jealousy

jealousy and opposite interests of these rulers proved favourable to the citizens, who wisely made the concession of new privileges, the price of their support, to either the one or the other party; but a third power, much more dangerous to their liberties, arose in the Counts of Savoy, who claimed the exclusive sovereignty of Geneva and its district; but the people, aware of the despotism that these new pretenders exercised over their own subjects, rejected their demand, and acknowledged their prelate as their only ruler,

To enter into the particulars of their history is by no means my intention. I shall therefore pass over in silence their many quarrels with their bishops: their civil troubles: their alliance with the cantons of Berne and Freyburg: with the various pretensions of the dukes of Savoy, and the consequent wars. Their sovereigns had been won over to the interest of these princes, and had so far excited their contempt, as to provoke the resolution of

renouncing their authority, like the bishops had done that of the emperor. When inclination and power are united, a pretence for rebellion is seldom wanted, but in the instance before us, the best that could happen for a people, who were desirous of deposing an *ecclesiastical* ruler, presented itself in the new doctrine of reformers. This was first introduced by William Farel, in concert with one Froment, a young Frenchman, to whom were associated Lambert and Boufquet, two monks ; but it required a more daring spirit, and greater abilities, to effectuate a work of this magnitude, and they were soon found in the celebrated John Calvin, who happened to arrive here in 1536. The fame of this man, whose moral virtues are deeply shaded by extreme pride and intolerance, had reached Geneva before him. He was recommended by Farel as the most proper person to complete what they had begun ; and, being intreated by the citizens, undertook to form a body of ecclesiastical service and discipline ; but in the mean time, those who adhered to
the

the church of Rome, and others that were offended with the severity of his precepts, created a party, and procured his banishment. However, the new sectaries, finding it impossible to overcome the many difficulties that surrounded them, without the aid of his abilities, recalled, and not only employed him in the reform of religion, but consulted him on the manner of establishing a system of civil government at Geneva, where his opinions on all subjects were ever afterwards adopted as the standard of orthodoxy. In little more than half a century from the introduction of the reformation, their religion and liberties were in the most imminent danger of being crushed by an attempt on the city, which, from the manner of making it, was called *L'Escalade*. In the winter of 1602, Charles Emanuel, son of Philibert duke of Savoy, though at peace with the republic, assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood, and determined, at midnight, on attempting the city by surprize; as there was no suspicion of so base an action (but what species

of treachery have not princes used to increase their power?) they approached the walls unperceived, and having silently planted their ladders, about an hundred of them mounted one of the bastions, and were on the point of entering the city, when they were fortunately discovered by the inhabitants, a few of whom rushed out to oppose them, and, like the followers of Manlius on the Tarpeian rock, soon cleared the rampart of the invaders. The anniversary of this fortunate escape has, till the last revolution, been kept sacred at Geneva, and celebrated with every mark of joy; but, since that time, the magistrates, fearful of offending so powerful a neighbour as the king of Sardinia, have discontinued the festival. From this epoch may be dated their internal commotions, which ended in the subversion of their liberties, and the establishment of the present absolute aristocracy. The most remarkable of these insurrections were in this century, particularly in the years 1707, 30, 37, 62, 70, and 81; so that the history of the republic, during

during this period, is little more than a recital of inroachments on the one side, and of popular disturbances on the other. The legislative power and election of the chief magistrates belonged to the general assembly of the burghers ; and the executive government to the councils. The former, tenacious of their own authority, and distrustful of those who were the more immediately concerned in the public administration, watched with suspicion, and examined with prejudice, their every action ; whilst among them were many, who by nature turbulent and factious, represented the whole conduct of the aristocracy as tending to undermine and to subvert the constitution. On the other hand, the magistrates, impatient of continual opposition from the burghers, and desirous (if we may conjecture from universal example) to render themselves absolute, gave just grounds of suspicion, by acting with secrecy, and declaiming against all popular enquiry as rebellious. Such were the motives of disturbance, or, I should rather say, such was the

the direct consequence of a republican government, in which the power of the state is equally divided between the patricians and popular assembly. These contests, which were frequently so violent, as to require the intervention of their Swiss allies, generally ended in favour of the people, till the year 81, which proved fatal to the liberties they had ever been so jealous of maintaining. Some members of the great council, who were friends of the constitution as then settled, finding it was the intention of the chief families to acquire absolute authority by various incroachments on the rights of the people, boldly opposed their design, and would have succeeded in the cause of freedom, had not the weaker party, assured of support from the French minister, M. de Vergennes, called in the assistance of France, which marched a large body of troops to besiege the city. This giving alarm to the bordering states of Berne and Savoy, they also sent their forces to the same place, so that Geneva saw itself betrayed by its own magistrates:

gistrates: besieged by three powerful nations: and reduced to accept of their mediation, partial and influenced by the superior power of France, which established the present despotic government on the ruins of the democracy. The leaders of the opposition were banished for life, and many of the citizens entered into voluntary exile.

After this triumph of the aristocracy, they found it necessary to support their authority by foreign troops, who rule the inhabitants with a rod of iron, and are, I am satisfied, more insolent, more rapacious, and more oppressive than ever were the thirty tyrants of Athens; but from the general tone of conversation, I believe, the citizens will again assert their former privileges, whenever a proper opportunity shall present itself,—and may fortune crown the patriotic enterprize with success.

Before this change, the government of Geneva was democratic; inasmuch as the
fove-

sovereign power resided in the general assembly of burghers; in which was vested the privilege of enacting laws: establishing imposts: ratifying treaties of peace and alliance: together with declarations of war, alienations, or acquisitions of state domains: and finally of electing the principal magistrates, such as the four syndics, lieutenant, auditors, treasurer, and attorney-general. The executive power and public administration, were intrusted to three colleges or councils; one of twenty-five, called the senate, another of sixty, and a third or great council of two hundred, with which both the former were incorporated. The senate acted as supreme in all political, æconomical, and criminal matters; every vacancy in this assembly was filled up by the two hundred; and the members could be elected only from that body.

The council of sixty, of which the senate made a part, seldom assembled, as they transacted no other than foreign business.

The

The two hundred, originally of that number, but afterwards increased to two hundred and twenty-five, and again to two hundred and fifty, judged in dernier resort all matters of the inferior police, as well as all civil causes of importance. It had the power of pardoning criminals, or of extenuating the severity of the law pronounced by the twenty-five. The senate filled up annually the places of deceased members in the council of sixty, and half the vacancies of the two hundred when they amounted to fifty, the other half being reserved for the nomination of the burghers. The four syndics, at the head of the republic, held their office for one year, and could not, according to the constitution, be rechosen before the expiration of three. Their precedence depended on their seniority in the senate; the first presided in all the councils: the second was commandant of the city: the third chairman of the assembly of finance: and the fourth director of the public hospitals, the chambers of justice, police, &c. Every year the councils proposed

posed to the burghers eight senators for their syndics, and the general council had the right of rejecting the whole number, or part of it, by voting for a new election. On this rested the chief power of the democracy. The lieutenant, who ranked after the syndics, was chosen annually from those who had served that office: he presided at a tribunal of the police, and high court of justice in the first instance; was assisted by six auditors taken from the two hundred, who remained in place three years, and with him formed a court for the first examination of all criminal matters.

The treasurer was elected from the body of the senate, and held his office for three years, at the expiration of which he might have been rechosen for the same period.

The important office of attorney-general was instituted in 1534. The person who filled it was taken from the council of two hundred. His charge, like that of the treasurer, was for three years, and like it also
could

could be renewed at the end of that time. His business was to prosecute and plead for the state, in all criminal proceedings and forfeitures : to watch over the public interest ; to guard the constitutional rights of the people : to enforce a general observance of the laws : and to protect and govern the wards under his charge. In regard to the inferior offices, I shall only observe to you, that what in monarchies are confined to individuals, in republics are generally carried on by councils, or chambers of several members.

I must not omit the public magazine of corn, in which the superintendant officers are obliged to keep a large provision for supplying the city, and preventing monopoly. They dispose of it to the bakers, who are obliged to furnish the inhabitants with bread at a fixed price ; but so many abuses have crept into this department, as to render it almost useless ;—the citizens finding they are able to procure their wheat in France and Switzerland on more reasonable

able terms than from their own government. I am informed these establishments are kept up on a more equitable plan in the Swiss Cantons. Might not something of a similar kind be adopted for charitable purposes in the county towns of England?

Before the two last disturbances in the years 1770 and 81, the commerce of Geneva was flourishing, particularly in books, plate, jewelry, leather, and watch-making; in the last of these trades were eight hundred masters, who employed one third of the inhabitants, for men and women work equally at this business. But the most lucrative profession is that of banking; from the advantageous situation of the place, which is, as it were, the centre of so many different countries. The annual revenue of the republic was then computed at 20,833*l*. which arose from state lands, fee farms, tithes, and alienation fines, taxes on industry, customs, duties, and tolls on whatever merchandize passed through the territory of Geneva. After the deduction of
state

state expences, little remained for contingencies, or extraordinary calls. The pensions annexed to public places swallowed up more than one fourth of the revenue; the annual expence of the garrison amounted to 4200l. These, and the repair of public buildings; of roads; of fortifications; various sums for the police, and many smaller charges, amounted to the nett product of the whole.

In addition to this, might be mentioned the public hospital, the expence of which is annually between three and four thousand pounds; but as the revenue allotted to it is inadequate, the deficit is supplied by annual collections, legacies, private donations, and eleemosynary contributions in churches.

Foreigners are generally shewn the university, which is well endowed with professorships: and the public library, where I saw a large collection of books and manuscripts. The former was founded in

1368, by the Emperor Charles the fourth. In looking over the library, I took occasion to enquire for De Lolme's History of the British Constitution; but to my astonishment was answered, they had it not. On hearing it, I could not but observe to the gentleman who conducted me, that *a prophet was not without honour, save in his own country*; and indeed he seemed to be of the same opinion.

It is a very general, and a very just observation, that the inhabitants of Geneva are remarkably well informed, which is in consequence of the care taken of their education, and their frequent intercourse with foreigners. I found many of the second order of citizens, who had been in London, and were intimately acquainted with our customs and constitution. For the purpose of seeing the real genius of the people, I have frequently visited the coffee-houses of the mechanics, and there heard conversations both moral and political, that have surprized and pleased me. They seem to
pique

pride themselves very much on speaking with propriety; and, I could not but observe, that in these conversations they exerted themselves the more when an Englishman was present; to whom they would tacitly appeal on the justice of their argument, by a look that sufficiently indicated their meaning.

I know no people on the continent so ingenious, particularly as draughtsmen; indeed, this is in great measure the effect of a public drawing school, in which sixty or seventy scholars are continually instructed; and rewarded with different medals, according to their degrees of merit.

Having said so much of the *male* inhabitants, you would suppose me to have assumed the cowl of St. Francis, if I were not to mention the other sex, particularly when so interesting as the females of Geneva. The Bourgeoises are the prettiest women I know of their condition, and their dress is peculiarly elegant and simple. Last Sunday we
C 2 walked

walked out to admire the scenery of the lake, but were met by so many bewitching faces, that I am sure we saw as little of the prospect, as if we had remained in our apartments at the inn.

They estimate the population of this city at 22,200 souls. Adieu.

In a few days we shall begin our tour of the Cantons.

LETTER

LETTER II.

Prieuré in the Vale of Chamounie,

July 26, 1787.

ON Monday the 23d. we left Geneva, with a determined resolution of overcoming all difficulties on the road, and I believe that never were two men better qualified for a Swiss tour. We expected our amiable friend Western to join us, but were disappointed.* Having entered the territories of his Sardinian majesty, we soon came to the little town of Bonneville, built at the foot of a mountain called the Mole, which, from its height, and fine sloping peak, is an object of great beauty when seen from the lake of Geneva. Our road continued up a deep valley, through which the polluted Arve runs with great rapidity,

* Maximilian Western, Esq. jun. of Cokethorpe in Oxfordshire. A gentleman, whose benevolence, learning, and refinement, make me proud and tenacious of his friendship.

and empties itself into the Rhone. The exact resemblance of the opposite rocks, on the one side concave, on the other convex; their correspondent qualities, equal height, and contiguity, convince me, that this valley was formed by some great convulsion of nature.

We stopped a short time on the road to admire two noble water-falls that rushed over a mountain, and formed two large streams below. They appeared to the greatest advantage from the heavy rains that had lately fallen. Soon after we crossed the Arve, and arrived at Salenche, a place that has given me a most unfavourable idea of the Savoy towns. Our inn, though bad, is the best habitation in it; the other houses present an appearance miserable in the extreme, and the streets are so dirty, that it was impossible to walk out. However, the accommodations were better than we expected, and fortunately for us, as the continued rain, which fell the next day, prevented our departure.

On

On leaving Salenche, we continued our route up the same valley on the banks of the Arve, and under Mount Varens. Having travelled about five miles, we left our horses, and were conducted by our guide to the water-fall of Cheyde, which is near the road; we stood on the side of a deep woody dingle, opposite to a lofty rock overgrown with shrubs, from which about twenty feet below the brow, rushes a large body of water, dashing down a considerable height in an irregular direction, the spar of which, produced by the breaking of the current against the projecting parts of the rock, extends itself in a thick mist to the distance of forty or fifty yards; and we, being fortunately there whilst the sun's rays were strongly reflected on it, beheld a most beautiful rainbow with all its variety and happy mixture of colours.

On leaving this charming spot, we rode along the mountain d'Enterne, which was considerably higher than it now is. In 1751, clouds of thick smoke issued out of

it for six weeks successively, when all the upper part gave way with a most tremendous crash, and covered the sides and bottom with its ruins. Under it is the little hamlet of Cerve, in which a company of French miners is established, near some copper and lead mines of great value. These gentlemen permitted us to examine different pieces of the ore, which answered the description we had heard of it. They also shewed us a large model of the neighbouring country, finely finished. This should be seen by all travellers who visit the Alps of Savoy, as they are more naturally represented, than they possibly can be on a chart. The mountains of this country abound in Chamois, a quadruped of the goat species, and very similar to that animal, but rounder in the head, and much lower in the shoulder than the haunch. We saw two of them at Cerve quite tame. The farther we proceeded, the worse was the road, which had been so broken up by the late rains, as to be almost impassable. However, we entered the vale of Chamounie, and arrived

rived at a comfortable little inn, kept by one Taire, whom I have found to be an honest and an attentive landlord.

Before I say any thing of our present situation, I must intreat you to assist the poverty of my description, by giving your fancy the most ample range. This attention I think due to every writer of Travels, as without it the most lively imagery would be flat and uninteresting. Conceive then this little village in a deep valley, fronted by the most vast, most sublime, and most beautiful objects of savage nature. When looking up in an almost perpendicular direction, I beheld a chain of rocks higher than I could possibly have conceived from description, which, as their cragged and spiry sides terminate in acute points, are called Les Aiguilles, or Needles.

Amidst, but far above these, is Mont Blanc, the highest mountain of the old world, and covered with eternal ice or frozen snow. Its perpendicular height,
taken

taken from the level of the Mediterranean, measures little short of three miles, that is, 15,663 feet. It was first ascended in 1786 by Monsieur Paccard, a physician of Prieuré, and this year, three guides, after much labour and difficulty, effected the same dangerous enterprize. They lay the first night on the ice, where, though prepared with warm covering, it was with extreme difficulty they withstood the cold; proceeding, however, the next morning, they gained the top, after a journey of twenty-one hours. The professors Bourrit and Sauffeur, of Geneva, are now here waiting for a favourable opportunity to ascend, and, I think, I never longed so much, as to be of their party; but our time will not admit of it.

The morning after our arrival, having hired a guide and mules, we crossed the vale of Chamounie, and ascended, through groves of immense fir trees by a rugged path, a hill, much steeper than any of our mountains in Brecknockshire. I was surprised

prized to find the animals we rode so sure footed, as not to make one false step. When they had carried us more than half way up the mountain, we alighted, as it was impossible for them to proceed any higher; and, after great fatigue, arrived at a little wooden hovel, which the English travellers, who have visited these icy regions, have dignified with the appellation of Blair's Castle; probably in honour of the gentleman who built it. I here found the names of many of my friends carved on the castle walls, particularly those of Lord Breadalbane, and his brother Mr. Campbell. This hill is named Mont Anvert, and ascended for the purpose of seeing to advantage what is called La Mer de Glace, or Sea of Ice, which is directly below it.

From this place I beheld above us, at an immense height, the Aiguille de Char-meaux, which I thought, from its very superior elevation, would command a much fuller prospect of the object of our curiosity than Blair's Castle. I therefore quitted my
com-

company, and after an hour and half's walking, climbing, and creeping along a ridge of sharp rocks, arrived under the second point of this Aiguille de Charmeaux, which, I believe, no mortal ever touched before. Indeed I must acknowledge, now the danger is over, it was extremely young in me to have attempted it.

From this pinnacle I looked down on one side over the vale of Chamounie, and on the other, over the Sea of Ice, which I perceived communicated with Mont Blanc by two broad channels, and then left it, but not without much difficulty. Having rejoined my companions, we descended, and walked half way across the Mer de Glace, with the assistance of our guide, who had provided long poles with spikes in the end to prevent our falling. It is almost impossible to give a person, who has never seen this extraordinary production of nature, an adequate idea of it. However, to make the attempt, I must desire you to suppose a
deep

deep valley full of ice, little less than a mile in breadth, that winds down from Mont Blanc into the vale of Chamounie, the surface of which ~~you~~ may conceive, by supposing the seas round the northern pole frozen into a solid mass, when raised into immense waves by a tempest. Now I recollect, the following lines in Thomson's Seasons are very descriptive of its appearance.

Ocean itself no longer can resist
The binding fury; but in all its rage
Of tempest taken by the boundless frost,
Is many a fathom to the bottom chain'd,
And bid to roar no more; a bleak expanse
Shagg'd o'er with wavy rocks, cheerless.

We had the curiosity to look down many of these vast chasms, where the ice had opened as deep as forty or fifty feet, but *they* were inconsiderable when compared to others, as our guide, who is an admirable pilot in these frozen tracts, assured us, that in many parts of them they measured from two to three hundred. It is thought impossible

possible to form any right conjecture of the cause of this phænomenon, as its present appearance leads but little to an investigation of it. One circumstance, however, might perhaps afford a clue, and that is, its being known to increase and decrease by the immense mounds of earth that are forced up in its swell.

Whenever any of the projecting parts give way, and fall in, the noise is inferior only to that of thunder. We were so full of admiration at this grand and horrid object, as to continue on it almost an hour; after which, we were obliged to reclimb the Mont Anvert, for the purpose of descending to the place where this sea of ice terminates in the valley below. We here found an arch seventy feet high, and equally wide, out of which rushes a rapid stream called the Arveron. We got to some rocks in the channel that stand before the center of it, from which we gazed with delight and wonder on this beautiful grotto of clear and solid ice. However, as
there

there was danger from the falling in of its parts, we thought it prudent to quit our situation, and return to Prieuré, where we arrived, much tired, but not more tired than pleased with all the wonders of the scene.

Ghestinen, July 30th.

WE quitted the vale of Chamounie, having ascended, at its southern extremity, the Col de Balme, a steep hill, from the top of which we took leave of Mont Blanc, the Glaciers, and Needles, whose points we had so frequently seen above the clouds. On the other side we enjoyed a most noble prospect. The depth and windings of the vale below, the surrounding mountains, and their hanging woods of aged pine, made the view most solemn and majestic. After a long walk up the Col de Balme (for we gave our mules but little trouble) Mr. Pocock discovered two boys, who were employed in milking a herd of goats. We immediately approached them, and almost

almost drank a pail-full of exquisite milk, with which we were so pleased, that we paid them ten times more than its value. At the bottom of this deep descent we had to mount another hill, called La Fourcle, from which we gazed with the most favourable anticipation on the Vallais, Rousseau's terrestrial paradise. At the beginning of it is the little town of Martignie,* or Martinac, built of wooden houses on

* Near this place was the winter station of Sergius Galba, Cæsar's lieutenant; but I could find no remains of his encampment. Cæsar says, "Galba, having fought some successful battles, many of the enemy's castles being taken, ambassadors from all parts being sent to him, hostages given, and peace concluded; determined to station two cohorts among the Nantuates, whilst he, with the others of his own legion, should winter in a village of the Veragri, called Octodunes, which being situate in a narrow valley, is shut in by lofty mountains. As it would be divided in two parts by the river Drance, he assigned one to the Gauls, and the other (being left by them) he appointed for the winter quarters of his cohorts, and fortified the place with a rampart and trench." Cæs. Gall. War, book 3. chap. 1.

This is the exact situation of Martignie.

the

the banks of the Drance, over which hang the mouldering ruins of a castle, the former residence of the bishops of Sion. I climbed the ramparts, and had an extensive view of the country through which we were to travel. We retired early to rest for the purpose of rising with the sun, but were so stung and pestered with venomous gnats, that to sleep was impossible.

The next morning I made an excursion to see the celebrated water-fall of the Pisse Vache, about two leagues from Martignie. Though considerably higher and larger, it did not please me so much as that of Cheyde, on account of its naked situation, and the straight direction in which it falls. The spar of the water extends, without being urged forward by any great wind, above five hundred yards. I continued some time at this place, and then returned to Martignie.*

* On the road to this water-fall I met Mr. W—tb—d and Mr. M—nf—n, riding without their coats. The former of these gentlemen is now one of the most able and distinguished orators of the House of Commons.

Having read such favourable accounts of the Vallais, both in the *Nouvelle Heloise* of Rousseau, and in the publications of modern travellers, we were impatient for the contemplation of its beauties. The description of Rousseau is the most pleasing picture of rural scenery I ever read. It really induced us to consider this vale as a second Tempé, or even a country to which nature had been singularly bountiful. How surprized will you be when I add, that our impatience was punished by the greatest disappointment imaginable! I think it most unpardonable in travellers to adopt blindly the opinions of their predecessors, and retail them on the public. Of this you shall never complain in my Letters; for, however singular I may appear, I am determined, on these occasions, to think for myself.

The Vallais, or, as it is called in German, das Walliserland, is an independent republic allied to the Swiss, and situate between the canton of Berne and the Alps.

Its

Its direction is east to west, extending from a mountain called the Fourche or Fork, to the glaciers of Faucignie. It is reputed to be one hundred and nine miles in length, and in its broadest part forty-eight; but I believe this latter distance considerably exaggerated. It is watered by the Rhone, which, entering at one end, passes nearly to the other, where it turns off, and empties itself into the lake of Geneva. There are two principal passes that lead out of it into Italy; the first by the great St. Bernard, and the second through Simplon. A few other roads are known, but from the difficulty and danger of attempting them, even in the summer months, they are only travelled by smugglers, or huntsmen, who pursue, among these inhospitable rocks, the Marmot, or wild Chamois. The most frequented of the two passes is that of St. Bernard, where there is a convent of Augustin friars, built upon the most elevated part of the road, which receives the traveller of the Alps; and by affording a comfortable shelter from

the inclemency of their frozen regions, has preserved the lives of many. Such a convent is indeed useful, and, I believe, would even meet the approbation and patronage of the Emperor, if in his dominions.*

From Martignie to Sion, the capital and extremity of the Lower Vallais, the country presented no object deserving of attention. The land is so low, that we supposed it marshy from the frequent overflowings of the Rhone, and our supposition was afterwards confirmed by the declaration of the inhabitants. However, we did not complain, as we expected to be more satisfied with that part of the Vallais which lay beyond it. This city (for such it is, being an episcopal see) is built on the banks of the Rhone, which, instead of flowing in the same clear stream as we had left it at Geneva, is, like the Arve,

* Joseph the Second, who suppressed many monastic societies within his territories.

polluted

polluted by the melting snow, and the white clay through which it passes.

Of all the miserable places I ever had the misfortune to visit, Sion is the most disgusting. The houses are meaner than the poorest suburbs I had ever seen, and so insufferably dirty, that I really am at a loss to find any thing by way of simile or comparison to them. For the purpose of diverting our attention from objects so offensive, we walked up a steep hill to the ruins of an ancient castle, which was of great extent, and considerable strength. When returned, we found our entertainment at the inn perfectly consistent with the appearance of the town; the scanty dinner they served being so dirty, that, though pinched with hunger, it was impossible to satisfy it; as, to avoid disgust, it was necessary to cut off all the outside of the food; indeed the appearance of the people was sufficient to damp the appetite of a Hottentot. You may be assured we were very happy when the following morning

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appeared,

appeared, and delayed our departure no longer than the necessary time for putting on our cloaths, and paying the bill; but with our journey to Brieg, a wooden town, that for filth and misery is no less remarkable than Sion, we had as little reason to be content as before. The mountains on each side of us, and part of the country through which we travelled, were covered with dark groves of gloomy and ragged fir, unmixed with any trees of a more lively green, that might have relieved the tiresome and melancholy sameness of their appearance. The land, though in many places fertile, had but little sign of cultivation. No inclosures, few herds or flocks, and fewer inhabitants, who were in a condition to labour,

From Brieg to the place in which I am now writing (Ober Gheftinen) the Vallais is more elevated, and less desolate; our road lay on the banks of the Rhone, many parts of which were extremely dangerous from its narrow limits, and from the precipices

cipices that hang over the river. The nearer we approached to Ghestinen, the more the land appeared cultivated; but far, very far, from the condition that Jean Jaques describes. The appearance of the houses is singular; they are built of wood, and generally painted red. The upper part is the abode of the family, and the lower converted into stables or hovels. This village is, to our great joy, situate at the extremity of the Vallais. We are lodged in a private house (there being no inn in the place) where I am sorry to find a great scarcity of provisions, bread and cheese excepted.

The different climates which authors remark in this country are indeed very perceptible, and consequently, as the soil is rich, in summer and autumn, many fruits may probably be found in the same day's journey, which in other countries are only to be had in succession, or as the seasons advance. This advantage (if it be so considered) is in consequence of the different

gradations of the sun's heat, and the freer or more confined circulation of air occasioned by the mountains; an advantage which must exist more or less in all hilly countries, in proportion to their southern situations,

Such is the real state and appearance of the Vallais, though so differently described in the 23d letter of Rousseau's celebrated novel. But what is still more unaccountable, he speaks of the inhabitants in higher terms of praise than he does of the country, particularly of the women, whom St. Preux, the hero of the piece, raises by comparison even to his angelic Julia. Instead of these *rare beauties* (for such is his expression) the eye is offended with a stunted race of females, ill formed, and worse featured; whose complexions are of a settled fallow, and whose singular dress would appear to no people but themselves, an embellishment of their persons. But there is another impediment to their beauty, which is much more serious, and this is,

is, a loathsome disease, called the Goitres, that affects a considerable number of the inhabitants. It is an excrescence in the neck, which, though in some no larger than an egg, in others hang half way down their bodies,—in appearance the most unsightly and disgusting that can be imagined. These Goitres are preceded (as I had frequent opportunities of perceiving in the children) by a yellow and sickly countenance, deformed features, and a languor or heaviness in their eyes. They bring on, for the most part, a total privation of the intellectual faculties, which we considered a happy circumstance for these poor creatures, from its rendering them insensible of their situation ; but very different are the sentiments of the Vallaisans, with regard to goitrous appearances ; for, from ideas as happy in effect, as they are absurd in principle, they consider these people as a blessing in their family, and regard them with affection, as the gifts of Providence, preserved by the intervention of this malady, from sin and future punishment. They go still farther,

farther, and marry them together, as they are even in this state of mental imbecility prone to sensual enjoyments, though without assistance they would remain seated in the same place, until nature had sunk under the oppression of hunger.

The causes assigned for this evil are physical and moral; that is, its origin is attributed to the former, and its increase to the latter. We perceived, that the greater number of goitrous persons was in the neighbourhood of Sion; and there it is that the water, which the people drink, is more impregnated with *tuso* stone. I was well informed (being very particular in my enquiries) that this was the principal cause of the disease, as, in the dissection of these Goitres, several particles of *tuso* had been lately found. As another proof (though a surer I think cannot be adduced than the former) it was told me, that the children of goitrous parents being sent out of the country, or even to the mountains that bound the Vallais, are quite free from the complaint. It is increased

increased by their inattention to cleanliness, and that supine and torpid state in which they live. This, my dear Sir, is the melancholy situation of so many of the Vallaisans, and you will now judge whether I could, with any degree of propriety, join in the panegyric that is bestowed upon it.

The republic of the Vallais is composed of seven great commonalties; in French, called Dizains, in German, Zindhen. Six of these have popular governments, and their administration of justice is committed to twelve magistrates, over whom, presides a superior officer. The names of these commonalties, are Siders, Leuk, Visp, Raren, Brieg and Goms. The city of Sion, and its district, make up the seventh Dizain, the government is aristocratic, and the police administered by a council of twenty-four, the president of which is stiled Burgomaster.

Near Sion are three castles, which belong to the see; the first, called Majoria, is inhabited

habited by the bishop ; the second, Valeria, by the dean and some of the canons ; and the third, Tourbillon, formerly served as a retirement for the bishops. When a vacancy happens in the see of Sion, the chief officer of the country calls together, in the castle of Valeria, the chapter, and the deputies of the Dizains ; the canons propose four candidates, one of whom is elected by the deputies, and confirmed by the general body. This assembly, called Landrath, (of which the bishop is president) is generally convoked in May and December by the chief officer of the country, or Landshauptmann, for the purpose of deliberating on the general interest of the Vallais, and determining causes in the dernier resort. It is by the institution of this supreme council, that the different parts of the republic are united in one political body ; they are nevertheless so independent of each other, that formerly one or more Dizains contracted separate alliances, or waged war with the neighbouring states. The language of the upper valley

valley is Swiss-German, and of the lower a corrupt French.

The first treaty of alliance, entered into by the bishop and people of the Vallais, was with Berne in 1250. In 1473 all the Dizains united in a perpetual confederacy with the four forest Cantons, or Waldstoett, being also at that time allied to Freyburg and Soleure. By these different leagues the republic attached itself to the Helvetic corps, as an associate of the general confederacy. Its first alliance with France was in 1500. The population of the Vallais is estimated at 90,000 souls, and the military consists of 18,000 men.

Since I have written this letter, we have felt a severe shock of an earthquake ; but I am happy to find it has done no damage in the village.

LETTER

LETTER III.

Altdorf, Aug. 1, 1787.

I BELIEVE that Dr. Johnson, with all his prejudice, never quitted Scotland with greater satisfaction than Mr. P—— and I did the republic of the Vallais. On leaving Ghestinen, we began the winding ascent of a mountain called the Fourche, or Furca, that presented the most rude and extravagant scenes of rocks and precipices. On one side we were overshadowed by lofty woods, and on the other looked down on the rapid torrent of the Rhone, which carried with it trees of immense bulk that had fallen into its channel. Mr. Pocock, whose glance no object that deserves attention can escape, shewed me a distant view of the Mont St. Bernard, and of a nearer Alp, whose high summit seemed to rest upon the clouds. About half way up this ascent is an opening, where we beheld an extensive glacier ;

glacier; but, as we had seen and examined the sea of ice in the vale of Chamounie, this engaged but little of our time, our attention was more taken up in tracing the Rhone to its source, which is here so narrow, that I stepped over it at the place where it empties itself into a foul current that comes down from the glacier. We went about a hundred yards higher to the fountain head,* which we found so clear and sparkling, that we were each of us tempted to lie down and drink of it. Then proceeding, we gained the top of the Fourche, but not without much labour, as we walked all the way. We here entered Switzerland by the canton of Uri, and descended gradually to the town of Urseren.

The appearance of this country had been hitherto very naked and uninteresting, but

* We were informed, not only by our guide, but by several inhabitants who happened to be on the spot, that this is the real source of the Rhone, and not, as many travellers have naturally supposed from its larger body, the current that issues from the glacier.

the next day the scenes varied. At a small distance from Urseren, the road is cut through a hard rock. We found the passage about sixty yards in length, narrow and dark. On the other side we crossed the Rheufs, by the Devil's Bridge, built of one arch, and so called from its difficult construction over a stream as rapid as any great body of water confined to a narrow rocky channel, and rushing down a long descent that is only not perpendicular, can possibly be. We were much surprized to find a good road cut along the sides of the steep rocks, and carried over places that would probably have overcome the fortitude and perseverance of the ancient Romans. We were four hours in descending, and frequently crossed the Rheufs, in some places continuing on the banks of its channel, where the roar of the torrent prevented us from hearing each other when we hallooed, though close together: in others so far removed from it, that the lightest murmur of the water only reached us. The sides of the mountains were covered

vered with pine trees of enormous size and height, which nevertheless are frequently torn asunder, and hurled down by great fragments that fall from the rocks above, so that the road is frequently obstructed by the ruin of the woods, or made impassable by the streams that pour down from the mountains, and swell the current of the Rheafs. We were so charmed with these sublime prospects, as to break out continually in expressions of wonder and admiration to each other, frequently stopping to gaze at the various objects in their different points of view.

And here let me observe to you, how fortunate I am in having so polished and amiable a friend, who is as passionate a lover of nature as myself, to whom I can communicate my remarks on every thing I behold, and hear his in return. This mutual exchange of sentiment constitutes a principal part of the pleasure that is experienced on a tour; and believe me, I would not for

the world possess the disposition of those re-
cluse and selfish animals that think other-
wise.

When arrived at the bottom, we entered the vale of Altdorf, and found as great a contrast as can possibly be imagined between it, and the scenes we had just quitted. The one was drest in the gayest liveries of nature, and presented a most happy mixture of mountain, wood, and water, whilst the appearance of the other was rude, bold, and magnificent. The vale of Altdorf would have satisfied the rich fancy of Claude Lorrain, and the descent of Urseren the romantic genius of Salvator Rosa. If either of these great masters of painting had added any thing, the one would probably have introduced a distant view of the sea with shipping; and the other gibbets of banditti on an eminence. Though we had been four hours in going down, we were so delighted with this valley, as to pass on *slowly* to Altdorf, a *little* town, but clean, well built, and full of inhabitants.

Schweitz,

Schweitz, August 2.

HAVING amused ourselves with writing during the sultry hours, we walked from Altdorf to the little village of Fluellen, where we embarked on the lake of Lucerne. It is impossible for me to form an idea of any thing more beautiful than this, and the surrounding cantons. The woody scenery of its banks: the depth and transparency of the water; its glossy surface, and the general silence of the evening, produced an inward calm of happiness, and such mild sensations of pleasure, as I never before experienced. If the mind then be capable (as I have here found it) of attaining so great self-enjoyment, how is it that men are so mad, so blind to their interest, as to ruffle and dis-temper it with anger? Why is their reason so much weaker than their passions, when even these inanimate objects of nature make so pleasing an impression upon us, and seem, as it were, to persuade tranquillity of soul, as the most exquisite pleasure we can enjoy?

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I was roused out of this reverie by one of the boatmen, who, finding that we did not understand the German, addressed us in Latin, speaking it with great fluency. You will suppose that I was not a little surprized at this, but no ; my astonishment gave way to the reflection, that it was in consequence of their being born to freedom, and legislators of their country. There is a manly ease in their conversation and behaviour, that indicates their independence. They look on all other men, however distinguished by fortune, as their equals only, and value them according to their merit. I consider the inhabitants of the Swiss cantons, whose government is democratic, to be a freer body of people, than the yeomanry or mechanics of England : and for this reason, that as there is greater equality* among

* The Author, though a friend to liberty, can never suppose that any government will long exist upon the barren principle of such equality, as destroys all distinction and subordination,

them,

them, they have more independence, without which, I should find no difficulty in persuading *you* that liberty is only partial. Nevertheless, were I of the lowest order of my countrymen, I would not exchange situation with a citizen of these cantons, as, although our constitution be in some respects defective, and in many perverted, I look upon our trial by jury: our act of habeas corpus: and our liberty of the press, to be of superior advantage to all their privileges.

As we rowed along the rocks of Uri, we came to a small chamber cut in one of them, to which there is no approach but by water. This place was intended by Greisler, the Austrian governor, for the imprisonment of Tell, the celebrated burgher of Schweitz. It is now converted into a chapel in memory of the man, who, by refusing to comply with the insolent injunctions of Greisler, excited his companions to revolt, and to emancipate their country.

When we had been about three hours on the water, we observed the scenery of the lake still more beautiful from the mellow and softer tints of the setting sun. We proceeded on slowly, and about eight in the evening, landed at the little village of Brunnen, from which we walked to Schweitz, through a country, equal, if not superior in appearance, to the vale of Altdorf. This place, the capital of its canton, is built on an easy ascent, about three miles from the lake; and, like the towns, or rather villages that we have hitherto seen in Switzerland, is simple in its construction; convenience, not ornament, being the principal object of the inhabitants. However, the houses are large, and the place supplied with fountains of water at the public expence. Contrary to expectation, we are lodged in a good inn, well stocked with provisions. For this, however, we are indebted to a great concourse of people assembled here to day for the purpose of seeing two remarkable malefactors beheaded. These men belonged to a desperate gang
of

- of no less than forty robbers, who had plundered so many people, as to compel the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring cantons to form armed associations, and pursue them. We were happy to hear that the banditti were driven to the frontiers of
- Germany, where the two who suffered this evening were taken. The continual perpetration of crimes had made them callous to the dreadful preparations for the scaffold, so that the priest who attended, could neither exhort them to a discovery of their accomplices, or the confession of their guilt. They were therefore delivered over to the executioner, without absolution, and underwent the punishment which the violated laws of their country had condemned them to suffer. P

The population of this canton is estimated at two and twenty thousand souls, and the military consists of four regiments of eight hundred men each.

Lucerne, August 4.

THE morning after our arrival at Schweitz, we returned to Brunnen, and reimarked for Lucerne. The nearer we approached it, the more the prospect improved, till at length it became complete and *faultless*. On passing a narrow strait between the two cantons of Schweitz and Underwalden, we came to that part of the lake where it extends itself in the form of a cross, and looked on each side over a long expanse of water, upon the banks of which were pleasantly seated towns, villages, and hamlets, that added new beauties to the scene; on the left was Mount Pilate, which terminates in a lofty peak, 6074 feet from its base. This mountain, which cannot but attract the admiration of all travellers, is washed by the lake, the surface of which was so smooth and transparent, that the reflection of Mount Pilate appeared almost as strong as the substance. Directly before us was Lucerne, built at the bottom
of

of a steep hill laid out in vineyards and plantations. Can you conceive scenery more beautiful than that of the surrounding objects which I have described? I am sure I cannot, and though I had often heard Switzerland painted in such glowing colours, as to make me believe it the most picturesque and romantic country of Europe, my ideas could never do it the justice it merits.

Lucerne is much larger than any place we have as yet seen on our Swiss tour. The river, that issues out of the lake, and divides the town in two parts, is called the Rheuss, from the vulgar notion that it is the same stream which enters by the descent of Urseren, and passes through the lake without mixing its water with it. Whence is it that similar ideas prevail in almost every country where the same occasions offer? The bridges here are of singular construction, being built of wood, closed in on each side, with windows to admit the light, and covered at the top.
In

In walking about, we were obliged to be continually bowing, as the inhabitants take off their hats to every stranger they meet. Mr. Pocock, the second time of going out, had some idea of walking round the town bare headed, to avoid the very troublesome ceremony of returning the compliment; but on reflection did not, being apprehensive that the people might consider it as a satire on their polite custom.

Having previously sent in our names, we had permission to visit the cabinet of General Phiffer, a veteran Swiss officer in the French service, whose ingenuity as a draughtsman is generally known. We were shewn a most curious model which this gentleman had made in wax on a plastick composition, representing all the canton of Lucerne, with parts of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Berne. This admirable piece of work is finished with such precision, as not only to contain the mountains, lakes, and villages; but each particular wood, field, and country seat;

feat ; all which are painted, and finished with such art, as, when seen through a glass, to assume the appearance of the real objects they imitate. It is in length twenty-three feet, in breadth twelve, and represents a country that measures 225 square leagues. It is impossible for me to speak too favourably of the design and execution of this ingenious work. For, though I had seen many things of the kind, I never met with any that could be put in competition with the model of General Phiffer. We also beheld some fine plans and drawings, but had not the satisfaction of seeing their owner, who was then absent from Lucerne.

Mindful of the injunctions you laid upon me, at my departure, to write you some account of the history and government of the countries I should visit on my tour, I shall trouble you with a sketch of those in which I now am, generally called the four Waldstœtt, or forest cantons. The three first of these, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, have long been united by the
closest

closest alliance, and known to have enjoyed their liberties from the earliest times of modern history. In 1115, Uri and Underwalden determined to assist Schwytz in repelling those enemies who should make war against it, at the instigation of the monks of Einsiedlin, alluding to the dukes of Austria; and, in 1291, the three cantons entered into a league offensive and defensive, which afterwards became a model for the confederacy of the Helvetic body.

By their union and vigilance, these cantons prevented the establishment of an arbitrary government amongst them, attempted soon after, under the false pretext of legal authority. Early in the thirteenth century, Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, was raised to the supreme dignity of the empire. Having ever proved himself the friend and protector of the Swiss, they immediately after the association of Zurich, with the three Waldstœtt, and during the long interregnum that succeeded his predecessor, elected him the chief of their union. After
his

his elevation he continued every mark of his good will to them, and confirmed all their immunities. Nevertheless, desirous of raising his family, he won over the nobles to his interest, and prevailed upon them, by honours and emolument, to acknowledge the sovereignty of his house. He also persuaded the rich abbeys to put themselves under his protection, and the lesser communities to do him homage; by this politic management he acquired rights, authority, and jurisdiction in all the northern countries of Switzerland.

His son Albert, who inherited all the ambition without the policy of the father, having slain his rival Adolph, raised himself by force of arms to the imperial dignity, and pursued the same project of aggrandizing his family. Stung with the ingenuous refusal of the forest cantons to submit to his absolute authority, he eluded the confirmation of their privileges, and sent them for judges, men whom he had particularly selected as fit instruments to crush their
high

high spirit of liberty, or by oppression to force them to revolt, and so furnish him with an opportunity of reducing them to the level of a conquered people.

Greisler, one of the imperial bailiffs, resident at Kutsnach, in Schweitz, excited the indignation of Werner de Stauffach, a person of consequence and character, by having reproached him with severity for building a house too noble for the inhabitant of a village. Stauffach had long felt the insolence and arbitrary sway of these delegated tyrants, and had formed, with Walter Furst of Uri, and Arnold de Melchthal of Underwalden, the generous design of vindicating their common liberty. They associated the principal of their countrymen, and swore them to secrecy; but during these transactions, the famous Tell, unable to bridle his indignation, had nearly discovered their intention by the untimely sacrifice of Greisler. Fortunately, however, this did not break in upon their plan; for, on the first day of the year 1308, they
seized

seized and banished the imperial officers without striking a blow. Albert, enraged at this violence, but happy in the opportunity of putting his project in effect, had prepared a considerable army against them to execute his vengeance, when he was assassinated, near Windisch, by his nephew, from whom he had unjustly withholden his patrimony. This was a fortunate circumstance for the associates, as it gave them all necessary time to prepare for their defence, and particularly, as the death of Albert was followed by a contest between two rivals for the imperial throne.

The next attack made against them was excited by the monks of Einsiedlin, of whose convent I shall probably give you some account in a future letter. Leopold, duke of Austria, protector of the monastery, having espoused their cause, though founded on injustice, assembled a numerous train of his noble vassals, who were all mounted. With this cavalry he imprudently engaged the Swiss in the narrow passage of Morgarten, situate

situate between a small lake called, in German, Egerzée, and a steep mountain. About 1400 men, but ill supplied with offensive weapons, deliberately waited his approach : exclusive of these were between fifty and sixty out-laws, who, on account of their crimes, not being able to obtain the honour of fighting for liberty in the ranks of their virtuous countrymen, posted themselves on an eminence which commands the strait, and, at the approach of the enemy, assaulted them so fiercely with fragments of the rock, as to throw them into general disorder, so that the main body had little more to do than slay the fugitives with their clubs and halberts. This victory was gained with the loss of only fourteen men on the Swiss side ; but as many hundred of the other perished in the flight. Was not this another band of Spartans and Thebians at Thermopylæ ?

In 1323, the Emperor Lewis sent John Count of Arberg and Valanjen as governor or imperial judge to the forest cantons.

But

But this commission was principally intended to carry on the league against the house of Austria. Since this epoch, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden have been governed by magistrates of their own choice, and their entire independence, as well as that of the other members of the Helvetic corps, has, in 1648, been ratified by the principal sovereigns of Europe.

Their form of government is democratical, the supreme power being vested in the general assembly of the people, called *Landsgemeind*.

Schwitz, according to the limits determined at the first confederacy, is divided in six quarters or districts, each family being attached to its respective quarter, in whatever part of the country it should be settled. Every male, born with the right of member or colonist, has, at sixteen, a vote in the general assembly, which takes place annually the first Sunday in April, and is held

in the open air.* Each man comes girt with his sword, for the purpose of electing the principal magistrates, and transacting the more important business of the state. The first men of the government are the Landamman, or chief officer; the Stathalter, or lieutenant; and the Pannerher, or standard-bearer, together with some military officers; all which places are conferred by the people. Government, police, and justice are administered by the Landrath, or public council, composed of sixty members, ten from each district, exclusive of the officers of state, and those who have served. These Landraths are doubled once a year for the purpose of determining all fiscal matters, and twice a year the council is increased to three times its number, for giving instructions to their deputies intended for the general diet of the Swiss

* At Ibach, about a mile and a half from Schweitz, there is a field for this purpose. The president of the assembly stands leaning on his naked sabre, surrounded by the principal officers of the state.

cantons :

cantons : for hearing their accounts of such diets, or transacting those matters which are not according to the constitution determinable by the public council.

As I have told you that Uri and Underwalden are democracies, I shall not enter into a detail of their political administration, for it would be no other than a repetition of that of Schweitz.

But the government of Lucerne is aristocratic, the sovereign power residing in a hundred, members chosen out of the body of the burghers. Thirty-six counsellors, selected from the hundred, form the senate or privy council, which is divided in two bodies that govern alternately every six months ; on which account they are called the summer and winter divisions. A candidate for admission into these bodies must be a citizen by birth, or have served the republic for a certain number of years. The grand council is the dernier resort of criminal justice, under which are various

committees, which take cognizance of the other branches of government.

The first offices of state are the two presidents, who are elected for life, and preside in turn over the two divisions of the senate, and the great council. The elder member of each division is honoured with the title of Stathalter, or lieutenant of the presidents. After these magistrates, the most honourable are the treasurer and the standard-bearer; so high is the dignity of the senate esteemed, that every person admitted into it is ennobled, and the nobility of his family acknowledged by the order of Malta.

The military of Lucerne is divided in five brigades, and each brigade in five battalions of six hundred men. The cavalry consists of three companies, and the artillery of five.

This canton is very fertile in historical fact. It allied itself to the union of Uri,
Schweitz,

Schweitz, and Underwalden, in 1332, and has, on several occasions, distinguished itself against the house of Austria; particularly in 1386, when, near the little town of Sempach, in Lucerne, the patriot Winkelried, by the sacrifice of his own life, in grasping and turning aside the pikes of the German infantry, opened for his countrymen a way to victory and freedom.

We found every thing agreeable in Lucerne, except our bill at the Golden Eagle (der Goldener Adler); the landlord told us very laconically, on remonstrating with him, *that the summer was his only sporting season, and Englishmen his best game.*

LETTER IV.

Zurich, Aug. 6, 1787.

WE were unanimous in thinking, that if any scenery could be preferable to the road from Lucerne to Zug, it must be that, and that only, from Zug to Lucerne, from the vicinity of the last mentioned city; with which we were so charmed, that with difficulty we could persuade ourselves to ride away from it; nor did we, without frequently looking back on this incomparable country, much doubting our ever being again in a similar situation. Other views may be more grand, and more interesting, but few, I think, can be more pleasing. However, it is not impossible for me to alter this opinion before the conclusion of my travels.

We observed the country between Lucerne and Zug to be for the most part laid
down

down in meadow, the Swiss farmers being as well acquainted with the advantages which accrue from turning water in the winter and spring over their pastures, as ours are in England ; and therefore the custom is as general.

We travelled on the banks of the Aar until we came within sight of Zug, which is pleasantly situated on the other side of its long and narrow lake ; we were therefore obliged to make a small circuit previously to our arrival. This canton is not above twelve miles long, and as many broad ; however, its fertility compensates for its narrow limits. The produce in wine, corn, chesnuts, and pasture, being so abundant, as to exceed the consumption ; an advantage which probably no other part of Switzerland can boast. The town too is small, but well built, and populous.

{ The government is aristocratic, the established religion that of Rome, to which (if I may judge from a short conversation I

had with some of the inhabitants, who spoke a little bad French) they are very much attached.

People of all countries wish to enter into discourse with foreigners ; and this propensity I ever indulge, as it not only pleases them, but frequently *improves*, and always *amuses* me. I here met an open-hearted Swiss, who told me that he thought the English the best people in the world, but lamented their being heretics. Indeed, said he, I believe our neighbours of Lucerne are of the same opinion, though their interest induces them to be the allies of France, for there is not a male, from sixteen to sixty, in the whole canton, that is not a pensioner of that nation. I thought this rather an extraordinary anecdote, and made further enquiry concerning it, when it was confirmed by a second person ; yet it still seems so improbable, that although I do not reject it, I know not well how to give it credit. We found an excellent inn at Zug, and the master attentive, and moderate in his charges.

charges. However, we were less pleased with him, than with his beautiful daughter, who was constantly in our company, as the family interpreter in French, which she spoke in a pretty German manner. Mr. Pocock was quite in raptures with her; and I am inclined to think that our landlord's daughter at Zug will be our constant toast, until her image be obliterated by some newer beauty, or the recollection of others whom we have left behind us, though not forgotten, in England.

On our departure from this town we ascended to a little solitary inn on Mount Albis, where we lay that night. Though our road passed through a charming country, we had not many views of it, as the woods often intercepted them; but we were amply compensated by the various prospect which we enjoyed the following morning at sun-rise from the summit of this hill. Exclusive of every thing we had before seen in Switzerland, we looked down with astonishment on new cantons, new lakes, new towns;

towns; and among the latter Zurich, at which we arrived in a few hours.

Having said so much of the situation of Geneva, how can I tell you that I prefer this of Zurich to it? I know you will say that young people are hasty in decision, and indeed with infinite propriety, as I feel and acknowledge myself guilty; but will it not be some little extenuation of the fault, if I ask you, how it is possible to refrain from saying every thing I can, when I behold such a paradise as Switzerland? I believe I am rather an enthusiast in the rural beauties of nature, but it must be little short of apathy to be cold and reserved in expression, when writing on a country like this. From my windows at the Epée, the principal inn of the place, I look up its extensive lake, a distance not less than forty miles, and see the country on each side rich in every object of inland prospect that can engage and please the attention. Zurich is fortified, and not ill built. The principal edifices are the town-hall, academy, library, and arsenal,

nal, the last of which consists of several detached buildings, and is said to be the best provided with arms and ammunition of any in Switzerland. The streets are clean: the people more industrious than their Roman Catholic neighbours, consequently more opulent. The reformation was begun here in 1524 by Ulricus Zuinglius, who survived its commencement but seven years, being slain in a skirmish against the enemies of his new doctrine.

This canton is in size the second, but in rank the first of the Helvetic body, and therefore addressed in all letters written by the states of Europe to the Swiss. The people of Zurich, in imitation of Lucerne, formed themselves into a canton in the year 1351. The city was always free, and had never constituted a part of the Austrian dominion. The Dukes Albert and Otho of Austria, having formed the design of besieging it, the inhabitants united themselves to the forest cantons, took possession of that country which is now Glaris, and forced them to give up their intention.

Its

Its government, a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, is carried on by bailiffs divided in three classes. The first, which consists of ten members called Administrators, manage the public rents : the second, named the interior body, as those who compose it are always resident at Zurich, is made up of nineteen, who fill offices appointed for the administration of such public business as must necessarily be transacted in the seat of government : and the third class is formed of thirteen members, who dwell in the castles and villages of the canton, being employed in posts of inferior consequence. There are also a great and lesser council, which together amount to 212 members (162 of the one, and 48 of the other) to these are added the two chiefs of the state called burgomasters, who are elected by the counsellors and burghers, and govern alternately every six months. These, with the four Stathalters, or masters of companies, and two treasurers, make up the members that administer the government of Zurich, all of which are elective ;
each

each tribe of the burghers furnishing twelve persons for the great, and three for the lesser council.

• It is here that the celebrated John Gaspar Lavater resides ; a gentleman who has acquired, and I think most deservedly, great reputation by his writings on physiognomy. It has been the lot of this science, and indeed of many others whose advantages are not evident at the first view, to be decried and ridiculed as ideal and erroneous ; but surely it must appear in a very different light to those who consider a knowledge of the human mind (of which the countenance is generally the index) essential to our happiness. Is it not founded on nature, and in a greater or less degree given by nature to every individual whose mental faculties are rational ? Our opinions of the temper and disposition of others are considerably influenced by their physiognomy, and indeed *should be*, as a criterion which seldom fails. However, as it sometimes does, we ought to be reserved, and not publish

lish our sentiments to the prejudice of any person. Education and habit might correct our natural dispositions, and lead the physiognomist into error, for so it was in the anecdote of the person who pronounced unfavourably on the character of Socrates ; but this by no means derogates from the utility of the science, or affords a handle to ridicule it, as we may infer from the declaration of that great philosopher to his disciples, who had so hastily rejected the opinion of the physiognomist with contempt.

Einsidlin, August 8.

SO alluring were the beauties of the lake, that we determined on going to Richterswyl, a little town on its western bank, by water ; and accordingly, having hired a boat, embarked at Zurich. As the boat proceeded, we lay musing at our ease on the fine scenery that surrounded us, and were both (for I know my friend's mind as well as my own) completely happy. I hope we may

may continue so to the end of the tour; for happiness, though often crossed by misfortune, is more frequently destroyed by imprudence,

Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.

Though our boatmen exerted themselves, it was late before we arrived at Richterswyl; however, when that happened, we were so fortunate as to find a good inn, and some fine fish for supper, among which were *Tench* taken in the lake, but not so large or well tasted as yours in Brecknockshire. The next day we rode through a hilly country to the ancient abbey of Einsidlin; which, I am induced to believe from what I read in Swiss history, has destroyed more bodies than it has saved souls; for before the general confederacy of the cantons, the monks, who are Benedictines, instead of preaching the word of peace, were eternally fomenting quarrels, and stirring up the ambitious Dukes of Austria to oppress their flocks.

The

The abbey, which is a most extensive pile of building, and endowed with great property real and personal, is called *Our Lady of the Hermits*. We were conducted over the whole by a French monk, who, I believe, had it been in his power, would have asked us to dinner; but the fraternity seems now to be destitute of the only virtue it was ever supposed to have possessed—hospitality. Their treasury is immensely rich with the gifts of weak enthusiasts, and the church most magnificent. Having entered it by the great door in front, we saw in the aisle a small detached house or chapel, said to have been built many years prior to the abbey by a certain St. Eberard, Duke of Franconia, and to have been consecrated by God himself. We descended into it through a door, over which, in a stone covered with a silver plate, are five holes for receiving the four fingers and thumb of the hand. They tell you that God touched the stone, and at the instant this miracle was performed. Under it is a block of wood to accommodate those who
are

are not tall enough to reach up and put in their fingers. You may be sure that both of us took advantage of our situation, though I do not know that either found himself the better for it : having descended into the chapel, we beheld through a grate (put up to keep the degenerate pilgrims of the present age from picking and stealing) an image of the Virgin superbly dressed ; but, by a most unaccountable whim, exhibiting a face of black marble, so that had I not been prepared for this rary-show by a knowledge of my situation, I really should have taken her for Prince Memnon's sister, or the Æthiop Queen. At the altar of this *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which, like the presiding deity, is most richly ornamented, and illuminated with a profusion of tapers, we found three pilgrims, two kneeling and praying most fervently, and the third, a female, singing hymns to the image ; in doing which, at every other stanza, she altered the tone of her cracked voice, which had the most ridiculous effect ; but we were so shocked to see these poor deluded

creatures the victims of superstition, that it was impossible to laugh ; had we so done, it would have been a satire on the imbecility of human nature, and we might have said to ourselves, *Quid rides ? de te fabula narratur*. It was told us, that not less than 80,000 pilgrims come here annually ; but even if one half be admitted, the evil is most serious, and cries aloud for redress. Many peasants travel three or four hundred miles on this pilgrimage, and never depart from Einsidlin without leaving some gift to the Virgin, which you may conclude, without my telling you, is applied by these lazy and luxurious monks to their proper use. What is still worse, the journey has no effect whatever in reforming the morals of those that make it. They come not only for a remittance of all *past*, but of all *future* crimes, as we learnt from a Swiss gentleman, who assured us, that the women, both in going and returning, are frequently guilty of the most scandalous debauchery, fully persuaded that they may act with impunity. The French Government

vernment, from experience of its bad consequences, has wisely enacted a penal law against it; and though not altogether put an end to, has considerably checked the religious emigration of its subjects.

LETTER V.

St. Gall, Aug. 10, 1787.

AS Einsidlin contained no other object of attention than the abbey, we left it on the day of our arrival, and descended to the lake of Zurich, which we crossed by a wooden bridge little short of a mile and a half, or 7850 feet in length, to Rapperswil, a town built on the opposite bank. A bridge similar to this was constructed as far back as the year 1358; since that early period, we may conclude from its materials, that many have succeeded. It is formed of loose deal rafters, supported on each side by large pieces of timber driven into the ground like piles. However, though simple in construction, even the length must of necessity make a work of this nature attended with great trouble and expence, and not undeserving of regard. Mr. Pocock having travelled with hack horses, which
he

he had hired at Einsidlin, dismounted in this place, and walked over the bridge; but as I had purchased a mule for the tour (a most beautiful animal fifteen hands high) I was under the necessity of getting him over; and, being informed by the guide that there was no danger in passing, undertook the achievement myself. I had not proceeded above a hundred paces before I found the boards so loose and rotten, that I most sincerely repented of the attempt. I would have turned back, had I not perceived it to be more dangerous than to go on; I was therefore under the necessity of walking forward, full of apprehension, that every step would be my last: but by good fortune, arrived without accident on the other side.

Rapperswil is pleasantly seated on an eminence that rises from the lake, and commands an advantageous view of it. We there made acquaintance with a gentleman, who gave us all the information we could wish, relative to that part of Switzerland,

and politely sent us a basket of fruit, the produce of his own garden, among which was a lemon of uncommon size, no small rarity, for a country so far to the north as this is. In return, we asked him to supper, and had the pleasure of his company. The next day, unable to obtain at Rapperswil as many horses as were wanted, we repassed the lake to the little village of Utznach, whence we travelled through a hilly country, highly cultivated and woody, to an inn on the road side, where the landlord was more obliging (if possible) than our honest friend at Zug, *but he had not so pretty a daughter*. However, our loss in that respect was in some measure made up by the polite attention of the son, an officer of one of the Swiss regiments in the French service. The next morning we continued our tour over hills, and through deep valleys, to Herisau, in the canton of Appenzel, and from Herisau to St. Gall. I cannot tell you how much we were charmed with this part of Switzerland. It is laid down in pasture and small inclosures, that
seem

seem quite alive with the industry of the inhabitants. The appearance of the towns and villages denotes the success of the manufactures, which consist of muslins and linen. They are very considerable in all this country that lies between Zurich and St. Gall, and the correspondence of the different houses most extensive; as the former of these articles is equal, if not superior, to any made in Europe. A traveller might immediately pronounce on the prosperous commerce of Heriseau, from its general appearance. No idlers are to be seen in the streets, nor beggars at the doors, but the whole town wears the happy aspect of industry and opulence.

The climate of this charming canton is, from its superior elevation, much finer than that of the surrounding countries, as the thick vapours, which rise in the winter months from the lake of Constance, never reach and affect it. In the summer it has also the advantage of being free from the intemperate heats which are often felt in

the plains below. Then it is that the cool air of its glens and valleys, the excellent quality of its fountains, its milk, its honey, its vegetables and fruits, together with the rich and extensive prospects that surround it, attract the inhabitants of other countries less favoured by nature, in hopes of participating the health of its happy people, by breathing for some time the same air, and imitating the same temperate and peaceful life.

The government is democratic; but, as the religion is mixed, the canton is divided in two parts, distinguished by their respective names of interior and exterior Rhodes; the former inhabited by Roman Catholics, and the latter by Protestants. These portions form two little independent states, whose government, police, and finances, are different, but whose interest is the same. In each division, every male at sixteen, has a vote in the general assembly, which is held annually, either in the open air, or in a church, according to the season and weather.

ther. In these assemblies they elect the magistrates; the principal of which are the Landammann, Stathalter, treasurer, captain general, edile, and standard bearer. They have also a great and lesser council for the administration of justice and government. Each division sends a deputy to the diet, but they have together but one voice; and it is consequently necessary, they should be of the same opinion to give it effect.

The inhabitants of Appenzel were originally subject to the abbey of St. Gall; but, impatient of the oppression and rapacity of that monastic government, in 1400 they followed the example of the other cantons, in asserting their liberty, and not only repulsed the forces of the abbey, and their German allies, but carried their arms into Suabia and the Tirol. However, these rapid conquests were not effected without the loss of men, and they were too inconsiderable a people to maintain offensive war against enemies so much more powerful than themselves. Having received several
checks,

checks, particularly at the siege of Brigend, they were at length compelled to retreat within the boundaries of their own country, where they continued in an unsettled state till 1513. They were then admitted into the general alliance of the cantons, and ranked as the thirteenth. Two circumstances are mentioned in their history, which denote the genuine simplicity of their character. When the bishop of Constance, to whose spiritual directions they had submitted; had on some trifling occasion put them under the bann of the church, they called a general assembly for the purpose of deliberating on this affair, when they unanimously determined, *that they would not be put under the bishop's bann*, and made a decree of their resolution.

The other happened when they had carried their arms into Suabia. Having taken by storm one of the enemy's castles, they abandoned to the flames the plate and rich furniture, being too busily employed in dividing equally among themselves, a large quantity

quantity of pepper, which they had discovered. The Protestant division can upon an emergency bring 10,000 men into the field, and the Roman Catholic 4000. The population amounts to 51,200,—a surprising number in proportion to the country's extent, which contains only 180 square miles, great part of which are uninhabitable mountains; but this is the happy effect of their industry and freedom.

The city is, I think, in size and population, inferior to none that I have as yet seen in Switzerland, and in commerce it is much before all, as is evident from the appearance of its bleaching fields, which are covered with linens. Though subject to its abbot, who is a temporal, as well as spiritual prince, its inhabitants (who are all Protestants) have the government in their own hands, which is a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. The burghers are divided into six corporations or tribes, exclusive of the noble families. Each of these tribes elect three tribunes or presidents, who

who assist in rotation. Twelve so chosen compose the minor council, with an addition of three burgomasters, and nine counsellors, chosen from the general body of the citizens; to these twenty-four, are added eleven from each tribe to make up the great council of ninety. The burghers elect their burgomaster, the corporation the tribunes, and the senate choose their members from the council. For the defence of the city, the burghers are divided in nine companies of militia, one of artillery men, and two of grenadiers; one of which is a troop of cavalry. Ever since the separation of its inhabitants from the church of Rome, its venerable cathedral is frequented only by the monks, and a few wandering strangers. The greater part of this country is the property of these useless ecclesiastics, who, happily for them, are just out of the emperor's reach, otherwise he would most probably have appropriated their revenues to better purposes than they do, and would not, I think, by such an act excite the resentment of the citizens, so much as he
has

has that of his bigotted subjects in the Austrian Netherlands.

the town of the lake of Constance

Constance, Aug. 11.

ON leaving the canton of Appenzel and St. Gall, we entered Turgow, and in all these countries found admirable roads, the consequence of their commerce. From St. Gall our route lay through a country not less fertile or pleasing than the environs of Heriseau. Having ridden a few hours, we came suddenly in sight of the lake of Constance, the most noble and extensive in Europe, and then descended to Rorschach, a little town built upon its margin. This lake was called by the Romans, Acronius; it now has three names, Bodmerzee, Unterzee, and Bodenzee, or rather its different divisions are so distinguished. Its breadth is sixteen miles, taken in the widest part, and its length forty. It abounds in fish, particularly trout, of the white species, many of which weigh from thirty to forty pounds. Having examined our inn, which was

was not over excellent, we wandered through the town, and about sun set walked on the borders of the lake, surveying its unruffled surface and the distant shores. Directly opposite to us is the circle of Suabia, in Germany: at the eastern extremity immense mountains on the confines of the Tirol, which project over the water; and, at the other end, the city of Constance and its district. I was pleased beyond description with our situation, and thankful to the great Author of Nature for the happiness I enjoyed. As we walked back, we found that the inhabitants of this town were musical, and listened for some time to a concert well executed. The day following we continued our journey along the lake to Constance, the *ne plus ultra* of our tour from Geneva. This city was the winter station of Constantius Chlorus, the father of the emperor Constantine, and supposed to have been named from him. It was taken from the Romans by Attila, king of the Huns, and afterwards became subject to the monarchs of France, by whom

whom it was considerably enlarged, and strongly fortified. The emperor, Charles the fifth, annexed to it the Austrian territories, part of which it still is, and enjoys privileges and immunities which are not granted to the other cities of Suabia. Nevertheless, it is much declined from its ancient grandeur and population ; for, though well built, there are not inhabitants to occupy its houses. However, the change of government at Geneva, in 1771, has added considerably to the number, and improved its commerce. The Emperor has, in consequence, wisely permitted them the free exercise of their religion, and done every thing that can induce them to continue there.

The council of Constance took place in 1414. It assembled at the instigation of the Emperor Sigismund, to make an end of the scandalous schism that then existed in the church of Rome ; when three pretended successors of St. Peter roamed about, venting their curses and excommunications

on

on one another, and on the adherents of their adverse parties, while each declared himself infallible. Unhappily for their divine authority, the council, at the end of four years, deposed them, and elected in their stead Martin the fifth. It also condemned the doctrines of our Wickliff as damnable and heretical; and, in its bigot zeal, sentenced to the flames, Jerome of Prague, and John Hufs, who were in consequence burnt, although the latter had a pass, and assurance of safety given him by the Emperor. This celebrated council consisted of four patriarchs, twenty-nine cardinals, three hundred and forty-six prelates, five hundred and sixty-four abbots and doctors, attended by not less than eight thousand secular princes and noblemen.

Schaffhausen, Aug. 12.

THE lake of Constance, like those of Lucerne and Geneva, receives its river (the Rhine) at one extremity, and, according to

to the vulgar error, discharges it unmingled with its own body at the other. We were recommended by our landlord (whose good character may be read in his countenance) to go by water to Stein; and, accordingly having walked to the village of Stekborn, two miles from Constance, we hired a boat, and embarked on the inferior lake. Six hours, and two indefatigable boatmen, brought us to the place of our destination; but the time seemed short, as the rich scenery of the surrounding country entirely diverted our attention from our watches. The nearer we approached Stein, the more we perceived the force of the current; so that at a small distance from the place it became quite rapid, being contracted within a narrow channel where the lake terminates, and the Rhine begins. Stein being in the circle of Suabia, we lay that night in Germany. It is a little town of no great trade, though so well situated. The chief employment of the inhabitants is in agriculture, which they carry on to advantage from the fertility of the soil. Their herds

are tended by one man, who, at dawn of day, walks round the town, and, with his bugle horn, gives the people notice to drive out their cattle to him; and, when he returns in the evening, informs them by the same means of his arrival.

The next day we travelled along the woody banks of the river, which winds down its course in a swift, clear, and deep stream to Schaffhausen, the capital of its canton. The town is large, and, upon the whole, not ill built. The inhabitants are fond of painting their houses on the outside, and of covering them with glazed tiles of various colours. In the upper division is a large tower or bulwark, which, in early days, was the principal fortress of the town, and probably served as a citadel; but is now of little use.

The only object deserving of attention in Schaffhausen is the bridge over the Rhine. The river is so extremely rapid, that several built of stone have been carried

ried away by the current; and the magistrates, after the destruction of the last, in 1754, were at a loss how to replace it, when Ulrich Gruebman, a common carpenter, of Appenzel, (to whom nature, by way of compensation for the most unfavourable appearance, had given an uncommon genius) proposed to throw a wooden bridge of one arch across the stream, which is between three and four hundred feet in breadth. This offer, though it astonished those to whom it was made, was *in part* accepted. They employed him in the undertaking, but distrustful of his ability to execute what he had proposed, ordered him to make use of the center pier of the late stone bridge as a prop for the new building. This injunction he literally obeyed, though he was determined, for his own fame, (as ambition is the soul of genius) to effect what he had originally intended. He so formed the bridge, that no portion of its weight bore upon this pier; and thus it is, though not in appearance, one arch, the angle of which is not less than 45 degrees,

over a river that measures between three and four hundred feet. Does not this bring to your recollection the celebrated one arched bridge of Pōnt y ty Pridd over the Taaff, in Glamorganshire, and its ingenious builder, Edwards?

History informs us, that Shaffhausen originated from an abbey of Benedictine monks, founded in 1051, by Eberard, Count of Nelemburg. In 1330, it was sold, by the House Bavaria, to Frederick, Duke of Austria, in whose family it continued near a century, and performed signal military services. In 1424, it leagued with Zurich and St. Gall, and thirty years after joined the confederacy of Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden. Its religion is Protestant, the reformation having been introduced here by Riegius Ritterus, and Hoffmeister. The government seems originally to have been formed by the Dukes of Austria, at a time when the town was subject to their authority. Frederic, in 1411, divided the whole

whole body of the burghers in twelve tradesmen's companies, called Abbeyes, or Zünfte; each of which was to elect a certain number for the councils. This form still remains, with the exception of a few changes made in 1689. The twelve abbeyes send each five deputies to compose the great council of sixty, and two for the lesser of twenty-four or senate; so that these combined assemblies, with their burgomaster or president, amount to eighty-five.

The law enacts that every vacancy should be filled up within four hours after the death of a member, and on the eighth day after the election, the person chosen is admitted by the lesser council, provided there be no legal objection to him. He takes what is called the Oath of Purgation, which is, that he has neither corrupted the electors, nor made use of any intrigue to procure their voices; *and what will seem wonderful to you in England, there is no instance of any member having perjured himself on this occasion.* The burgomaster, stathalter, and two trea-

surers, are elected by a plurality of voices in the great council, with which the supreme power rests; the different branches of the executive government, such as the police, civil and criminal jurisdiction, public œconomy, military department, &c. being committed to subordinate chambers, where they are transacted in a manner very similar to that of the other aristocracies in Switzerland. They estimate the population of this canton, including the city, at 30,000 souls. But what makes Schaffhausen the resort of so many travellers, is the famous fall of the Rhine, about a mile from the town.

The river, a little below the bridge, is so rapid, as to make it impossible for any boat to attempt the current, so that the fall might be said to begin there.

We were conducted by our guide to the place, where we saw with astonishment the whole body of the Rhine tumbling with a noise of thunder down a declivity of eighty feet,

feet, and producing clouds of spar that rose to a considerable height. We took a boat below it, and crossed the stream to a rock that leans directly over it, where we beheld the fall in different points of view, from a little winding walk that leads from the summit almost down to the water. The sight and sound of this cataract were tremendous, but what must be the falls of Niagara? We were informed that Louthenburg, who is a native of Switzerland, is now in this country, and means, in a few days, to paint this wonderful scene. Should he do it justice, the picture must, from the subject it represents, be very interesting, and receive great attention in England.

Unfortunately for travellers there is only one inn at Schaffhausen, and this kept by a man, who, from riding a good horse, and being enrolled in the town militia, is become so insufferably proud, as to forget the humble duties of his station. The animal may be easily known by a smart cocked hat,

H 4

a fierce

a fierce pair of jack boots, and a tail that hangs down to his heels.

He considers himself a gentleman, and behaves to those, whom necessity forces to his house, with unpardonable insolence; infomuch, that a few years ago he was kicked down stairs by some German officers, who shewed the coxcomb how well they knew to resent the impertinence of a military innkeeper.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

Bafil, Aug. 14, 1787.

HAD we not seen the most beautiful countries imaginable since our departure from Urseren, we probably might have been pleased with our first day's journey from Schaffhausen ; but as it was, we were by no means so. On the contrary, it appeared cheerless and uninteresting ; that is, the remaining part of the canton from Schaffhausen to Waldshut. For with the last stage to Dogguerne we had every reason to be satisfied, particularly on the banks of the Rhine at Waldshut, where the river winds under the town, and a little on this side washes one of the boldest natural terraces I ever saw, along which the public road passes. At Dogguerne we beheld in our landlord Conrad Ebner, a most singular and venerable figure, the genuine representative of the ancient inhabitants of this country.

He is a man in years, much above six feet high, large and well proportioned. His hair is thick, short and grey, his beard long, and whiter than his head. His dress is that of the country, which has continued many centuries without any alteration, and is as follows. On the head the men put a small straw hat curiously cocked, and tied with ribbons. This hat (if I might so call it) is only meant for ornament, as the crown is not above three inches in diameter, and two in depth. Instead of a coat they wear a jacket, under which they gird themselves with a broad leathern belt. Their breeches are similar to those worn in England in the golden days of Queen Bess, or what are still seen among the common people of Holland; that is, preposterously large above, and close at the knees. They fasten their shoes with strings, over which the upper leathers or vamps turn back, and reach to the middle of their feet. The singularity of the women's dress consists in their short petticoats, that fall but very little below the knee: in their shoes, which resemble those

those of the men ; and in their head dress, the fore part of which is closely bound up, whilst the hair behind hangs down to the small of their backs in thin braided tails.* We were very desirous of conversing with our venerable host, but he was quite ignorant of the French, and we of the German language.

The Emperor, when he passed through this country, called to see him, and was not only delighted with his dress and figure, but with his conversation and manners. Indeed, the gentleness of his disposition is manifest in his every action. Early the next morning, having taken honest Conrad by the hand, we left Dogguerne, and travelled through woods of noble oak, the remains

* I am informed by an ingenious friend, John Osborn, Esq. who is intimately acquainted with the manners and dress of the German people (having long resided among them as a foreign Minister) that this manner of wearing the hair is peculiar to unmarried women, and denotes their celibacy. When no longer single, the chignon is turned up, and fastened on the top of the head by a large pin or skewer.

of the Hercynian, or Black Forest, which is so particularly described by Cæsar in his Gallic war. I had determined on reading this description in the wood, and consequently carried his Commentaries in my pocket. As I think the translation will not be impertinent in this place, I shall take the liberty of inserting it. Cæsar first observes, "that this forest was known to Eratosthenes and other Greeks, and by them called Orcynia." In the subsequent chapter he continues, "The breadth of this Hercynian forest above-mentioned, is an expeditious journey of nine days, for it cannot otherwise be defined, nor have they ascertained the measure of these journies. It first rises on the borders of the Helvetii, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extends from the right side of the Danube to the frontiers of the Dacians and Anartes. Here it bends to the left through regions at a distance from the river, and reaches the confines of many nations from its great extent; nor is there any one in this part of Germany,

“ many, who can say that he ever arrived
“ at the place where the wood begins, al-
“ though he had travelled sixty days, or
“ that has even heard where it first rises.

“ There are many kinds of wild beasts
“ in it, unknown elsewhere. Among such
“ as differ from all others, and should be
“ transmitted to memory, are these. The
“ first is an ox formed like a stag. From
“ the center of its forehead, between the
“ ears, rises a high horn, straighter than is
“ generally seen. At the summit of this
“ horn, branches, like those of the palm-
“ tree, spread out. The male and female
“ are similar to each other, their horns be-
“ ing of the same form and size.”

Cæsar then proceeds to mention the two others, which I should suppose to be the elk and buffalo. Should you wish to refresh your memory, I beg leave to refer you to the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters in the sixth book of his Gallic war.

We

We travelled, as you will suppose, with great pleasure through what remains of this classical wood, which is now called the Schwartzwald, passed Lausenbourg, and the forest towns of Seekinghen and Rheinfelden, and in the evening arrived at Basil or Basle, where we now are.

This city, called by the Romans *Basiléa Rauracorum*, is situate on uneven ground, and divided into two unequal parts by the Rhine, which forms a noble arch as it passes under the windows of the houses. The smaller division on the north-east communicates with the larger by a strong bridge of stone, and the whole town is fortified. It was formerly an episcopal see under the metropolitan of Besancon, and its bishop a prince of the empire. But he, being attacked by the Protestants, fled from Basil to Porentrù in Alsace, and his chapter to Freyburg in Brisgaw. The cathedral, built by one of the German Emperors (I believe Henry Augustus) is a curious Gothic structure. Its materials are red stone of a very deep

deep colour, found near the town. We visited the arsenal and the palace, where the councils, &c. convene; but what principally engaged our attention, were the library, (where we saw a curious manuscript of Virgil and the Alcoran) together with the repository of Amberbach and Erasmus, which belong to the university. These contain many original drawings, and a dead Christ by Holbens, who was a native of this city. There is also another work by this great artist, painted in fresco against the wall of a church, which has considerable merit. This is the dance of Deaths, a subject rather singular. Basil has the honor of having produced many great men, and of having been some time the residence of that elegant latinist, Erasmus, who died, and was buried here in 1536. It can also boast of the two Galicians, the inventors of ordinary paper, and of Richel, who first began the art of printing in 1478; that is, I suppose, who set up a regular office for that business, as the art was invented and exercised by Scheffer of Mentz, in the year 1450.

In

In the government of Basil, the citizens alone are eligible to public employments ; the sovereign power is lodged in the two councils united ; the greater consisting of 216 members, chosen from the eighteen tribes of the larger and smaller division of the city ; and the minor council, composed of sixty, selected from the fifteen tribes of the larger division. The two burgomasters, and four chief tribunes, make up 280. The sovereign council, which generally assembles on the first and third Sunday of every month, decides on all the great œconomical and political business of government, exercises the power of legislation, and disposes of the principal employments. The lesser council is composed of two divisions : over each preside a burgomaster, and chief tribune, who succeeds the former in case of death. They govern by turns, each being a year in office, and enter on their charge at Midsummer. They judge on all criminal causes, decide on matters of appeal from the burghers, present to church benefices, and appoint all inferior offices in the police.

The

The other principal tribunals are the council of state, called the thirteen, the œconomic chamber, assembly of appeal for the canton, that for the government of churches and colleges, the chamber of commerce, the consistory for matrimonial causes, and the court of common law. The military consists of six companies of burghers, and two regiments of the canton, each containing nine companies of fusileers, one of grenadiers, and a troop of dragoons. The population is about 24,000 souls. The clergy, whose head or superior, is the chief pastor of the cathedral, form a convocation in the city, and three chapters in the country. They are excluded, not only in Basil, but in all the protestant cantons of Switzerland, from any share in the public administration, except in trials for adultery and fornication, and in these they only assist the civil magistrates appointed for that purpose. I cannot take leave of Basil without mentioning a large magazine and gallery of prints, which is as well furnished as any in London, Boydell's not excepted. The proprie-

tor, Mr. Mechel, conducted me through a variety of apartments hung with the most rare and excellent, and shewed me his numerous workmen, whom he continually employs in etching and engraving. His correspondence must be very extensive to make this great branch of business answer; but what surprizes me is, that he should have settled in a town so inconsiderable as Basil, though the largest in Switzerland.

Neufchatel, August 16.

HAD we found between Basil and Bienne a country abounding in such rich landkip as we have seen on the greater part of our Swiss tour, we should have been surfeited with delicacies; but fortunately we met with scenes, which from their variety were calculated to refresh and strengthen, not cloy our appetites, being similar to those we had left behind us in the descent of Urferen, such as mountains, rocks, precipices, and water-falls. We lay the first night at Munster,

Munster, a place too small for a town, and too large for a village, and the next morning arrived at Bienne, the capital of its republic, and an ally of the cantons. We found it well built, and well kept, or, in other words, as clean as any town we had visited in Switzerland. It is situated at the foot of Mount Jura, in a fine country, rich in pasture, wood, and vines, but the wine is not much esteemed. Of the government of these smaller republics, I shall not enter into a detail, as I have already put your patience to a severe trial, in writing those of the cantons. Let me only observe, that this of Bienne is aristocratic, consisting of a great and lesser council; the latter was for some time almost absolute, and even now indeed enjoys much the greater share of the public administration. We walked about a mile and a half from the town to its lake, on which we embarked in the afternoon, and were rowed by three men, and a woman, whom we thought much too pretty for so laborious an employment; but she, though French, was obedient to the com-

mands of her husband, and indefatigable at the oar. I think this inferior, in point of scenery, to the lake of Lucerne, but preferable to that of Zurich, as it is less uniform, and more romantic. We proceeded along its rocks and silent shores, till we came opposite the little Island of St. Pierre, where we directed the boatmen to land us; and oh! with what pleasure did we set foot on this charming spot, which afforded an asylum to so great a genius as Rousseau, when forced to fly from his native city. It is about two miles in circumference, and contains almost every thing within it that can contribute either to its proper ornament, or to the use of the inhabitants. Wood, water, corn land, pasture, and vineyard. On landing, we walked up to the summit of the island, along a side-land glade, where we found a summer-house built by Rousseau. From this place we descended on the other side to his habitation, where the farmer with whom he lived, is now resident. Having walked upstairs to the room in which he lay, and examined

examined the house as particularly as if we had carried with us a search warrant, you may be sure we were very inquisitive with the honest man, relative to the manner in which Jean Jaques passed his time. He told us that in summer, when the weather would permit, he sauntered in the woods, or was out upon the lake; that he would often meet and pass by him unperceived, and that he was generally silent, thoughtful, and melancholy. He was for some time the inhabitant of this island, which belongs to the states of Berne; and they (to their disgrace be it spoken) were prevailed upon by the government of Geneva to drive him from an asylum, in which otherwise he probably would have continued to his death.

We crossed over from this island to the little town of Neuville, where we lay that night, and the next morning travelled through a country of vineyards along the lake, which here takes its name from Neuchâtel, where we arrived in a few hours.

This town is most pleasantly situate on the side of a steep hill that rises from the water, and is much the best built of any that we have hitherto seen in Switzerland. Its situation, together with the abundance, the excellence, and the moderate price of provisions, make it a place of great resort for foreigners, and consequently its improvement is very progressive. We saw several workmen busily employed in the construction of some handsome dwelling houses, and a public hall; which, though small, being proportioned to the size of the town, displays much taste in architecture.

Neufchatel was originally governed by its own Counts, the descendants of Amo, who lived at the beginning of the eleventh century. After the extinction of this family and its successors, the last of which was Mary of Orleans, duchess of Nemours, who died in 1707, several princes laid claim to the sovereignty, and agreed that their pretensions should be decided by the states

of Neufchatel. These accordingly assembled, and having resolved on certain preliminary conditions of government for the maintenance of all their former privileges, rights and immunities, the observation of which was sworn to by the different pretenders, before the determination of the states: they decided in favour of the king of Prussia, as heir to the House of Challons, the family of some of their former Counts; and to him swore allegiance, after having administered the proper oaths. He is represented by a governor, who under his direction disposes of all civil and military employments, the principal of which are those of the state counsellors: of the chancellor: of the attorney and solicitor general: of the chief commissary: of the castellans: of the mayors and president of the court of justice: neither of which can, according to the constitution, be offered to any but a burgher or subject, originally of Neufchatel. Indeed the only public charge, that can be given to a foreigner, is that of governor.

The constitution is composed of three estates, represented by twelve members, four nobles, four high officers called castellans, and four counsellors of the town. In them and the governor (whose consent is necessary to make valid every law and resolution) the supreme power resides. The most important conditions proposed to and accepted by the House of Brandenburg before its succession were, that the rule and authority of the state can exist no where but in the state, consequently that the prince in his absence can only speak to the people by the governor and state council ; that no subject can be judged elsewhere than in the principality, and by the constitutional judges : that the interests of the people are separate from those of the prince's German dominions : or, in other words, that Neuchâtel should not enter into any of the king of Prussia's wars : and finally, that the inhabitants might engage in any foreign service. Thus this little state, being considered as independent of the Prussian territories, and the ally of the Swiss cantons, is
not

not exposed to the incursions of an enemy, when their prince is at war with any power on the confines of Switzerland.

As the political state of this principality is so very singular, being in great measure free, though subject to a prince, whose authority in all his other dominions is absolute, I shall beg leave to dwell a little longer on the subject; and here let me observe, that I neither expect nor merit your praise for what I have written to you on the government of the cantons and their allies, as I, *like all modern travellers*, have done little more than translate from the histories of the country. Do not suppose that in a few weeks any person, however industrious, has time, or even inclination in such a charming part of the world as this is, to ask many questions on government. Indeed it would in every respect be ill judged. In the first place, as giving much unnecessary trouble by the inquiry; and again, in probably not receiving sufficient information. What foreigner would think

think of consulting an English gentleman on the History and Constitution of Great Britain, when there are so many excellent books on the subject? But to proceed:—The inhabitants of Neufchatel cannot be tried for any crime without having previous intimation of their judges: all punishments and fines are determined by law: and in all criminal matters the prince has the power of pardoning the culprit. How similar are those to some of the most essential privileges of our constitution! The property of the inhabitants cannot be subject to any new contribution: the land-tax (which is very moderate) may be paid either in money or kind, and the commerce is possessed of the most extensive immunities, as not being subject to any export or import duty: in consequence of all this, the revenues of the prince are very small, not amounting to more than 100,000 French livres, or 4,166l. 16s. English. This happy constitution, which is made up of so many advantages for the subject, is naturally productive of general opulence and

and prosperity. Several branches of trade are carried on with great success, particularly watch-making, lapidary work, and lace manufactures, which the inhabitants export to a very considerable amount.

The population amounts to six and thirty thousand souls—an immense number for a country not more than thirty-six miles in length, and fifteen in its broadest extent, the greater part of which is lofty and barren mountains. If princes knew their real interest, they must be conscious, that the more free, the more flourishing would be their dominions.

As we arrived at the inn when dinner was serving up to the *table d'hôte*, and were not only pleased with the dishes, but with the appearance of the company, we added ourselves to the number. During the repast, I happened to notice the excellence of the wine (for this of Neufchatel is famous) when a gentleman, who ingrossed the conversation of the table, asked me whether

whether I was fond of wine; I replied, I was, *in moderation*. Then, Sir, said he, I fear we shall not have your company in this town, so long as one of your countrymen (for I presume you are an Englishman) staid in Champagne. "Twenty years ago," continued he, "I was quartered with a
" company of the Swiss regiment de Cour-
" ten, at Challons sur Marne, when an
" English gentleman (or as he termed him,
" un Milor Anglois) drove furiously up to
" the inn. As he was going through in a
" hurry, he ordered his dinner immediate-
" ly, and told the landlord to bring him
" some of his best wine, which he tasted
" and approved; but before a bottle was
" finished he saw the people harneſſing the
" horses to his carriage. However, this
" did not in the least disconcert him, for
" he bade them wait half an hour, and
" ordered another bottle, of which he
" drank but little, before he called in his
" host, and asking him what quantity of
" this wine he had by him, was answered,
" a *room full*. Well, said he, send the
" horses

“ horses back, and put my carriage into
“ the coach-house, for I shall not leave
“ your inn, till I have finished the whole.”
“ And do you know, gentlemen,” continued the officer, (addressing himself to the company) “ that this Milor Anglois,
“ with the assistance of his valet de chambre, (who served him in the triple capacity of footman, interpreter, and companion) finished nine dozen in three
“ weeks, when he was put dead drunk
“ into his carriage to complete his grand
“ tour, and improve himself by travelling.”
Though I was conscious that the merry Swift at my elbow had romanced, yet knowing how general this kind of imputation was against my countrymen, and how many of them deserved it, I was under the necessity, for the better grace, of joining in the general laugh; but another gentleman present, who was an admirer of the English, did not suffer this pleasant fellow to enjoy the triumph of his story longer than the laugh continued; for, addressing himself to him with a very serious countenance

countenance, he told him, that he had mentioned the circumstance with admirable grace, but unfortunately the great quantity of Champagne, which the English gentleman and his servant had drank in so short a time, made it appear a little suspicious. However, Sir, said he, as you are so intimately acquainted with the particulars, it would be unmannerly in me to doubt the reality of them. I will therefore suppose, that *you*, Sir, occasionally, made up the *trio*, that your anecdote may appear less wonderful, and more consonant with truth. You may conceive how the laugh of the table was turned against the Wit, inasmuch that he was entirely disconcerted, and (I may venture to say) will not in future be so fond of relating his *good story*.

Adieu.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

Berne, Aug. 18, 1787.

TO pursue our intended route, we were obliged to travel back some part of the road we had come, and then crossing the neck of water that forms a communication between the two lakes of Bienne and Neufchatel, passed through a part of this canton (Berne) to the town of Arberg. Early the next morning we continued our journey through a country, which convinced us of the industry of its inhabitants, and pleased us with its beauty, being not only highly cultivated, but finely varied with wood and water. Indeed the attention of the Swiss husbandmen to agriculture is become proverbial. In some modern publication I have read, that the plough is used in places seemingly inaccessible. Nevertheless, I must in justice to my native country observe, that I have there seen arable

ble fields much steeper than any we have noticed since our departure from Geneva. Indeed all Switzerland cannot boast a society for the encouragement of agriculture, so laudable in its institution, as that set on foot in Brecknockshire, by my worthy old friend Mr. Powell of Castlemadock.

On entering Berne, we were much pleased with its situation, to which I never saw any thing similar. It is built on a bold eminence or peninsula, three sides of which are washed by the river Aär, and the fourth or entrance, which I should not suppose to be above 100 feet in breadth, is defended by strong walls and bastions. Though it is not of great extent, the principal streets are wide, and the houses large and convenient, especially on the south side. It has an academy endowed with eight professorships, a museum, public library, and arsenal; all of which we had the curiosity to inspect. In the latter we found arms for 40,000 men (if accoutred in the fashion of the last century) and two curious wooden statues of

Tell

Tell, and his son ; the former in the attitude of shooting the apple off the latter's head. The father is dressed in the old Swiss manner, with a coat of different colours, and his countenance resembles that of a highlander ; the boy has a fair round face, and seems insensible of the danger. These figures might be called the Dii Penates of the Bernois. The last place that we visited in the town was the great church—a noble building. Our guide would make us climb the tower of it for the purpose of seeing a great bell, but we were more satisfied with the extensive view, which reaches even to the Grison country. The yard of this church is planted with avenues, and laid out in walks. It is supported by a wall, which I should suppose 60 or 70 feet high. On looking over it we were shewn a small square stone below, put there in memory of a horse having leaped down it with his rider, who escaped unhurt. The day after our arrival we walked a mile from the town to see the exercise of some artillery

men. At stated times they are ordered by the government to assemble and encamp for that purpose: their tents were well pitched, and in good order; but I cannot speak so favourably of their skill as cannoneers, or discipline as soldiers; in the former they but ill acquitted themselves; and for the latter, as the officers and men were upon an equality, I was not surprised at that riot and confusion which prevailed among them as they marched. Berne was begun in 1191, by Berthold the fifth, duke of Zeringhen, and vicegerent in this part of Switzerland for the Emperor Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa. The foundation of this, and other cities, by him and his predecessors, was laid with a design of uniting the inferior nobility and others into society, by way of counterpoise against the great barons. Henry the Seventh, of England, had the same object in view when he permitted the nobility, &c. to break ancient entails, and alienate their estates. In a short time Berne grew into consequence, and from the tranquillity which it enjoyed

enjoyed during the crusades, obtained partly with money, and partly by conquest, a rich and extensive territory. In 1353, it entered into the general confederacy, and became the eighth allied canton, though first in rank, Zurich excepted. The reformation took place here in 1528. In 1536 it conquered, or rather gained possession, without striking a blow, of the *Pays de Vaud*.

The city was at first divided in four districts, called Abbayes, which contained four companies of trade; each company elected from its own body a banneret as its chief, who were together the first military officers, and governed the republic. By these were chosen sixteen of the principal burghers, four from each quarter, who were to assist at deliberations of importance, and as late as the last century, they, with the bannerets, retained the exclusive right of electing the two hundred, or great council. This council, in which all the other colleges are united, under the general title of, *Advoyer Council* and *Burghers of the Town*

and *Republic of Berne*, exercises over all subjects sovereign power: enacts and revokes laws: determines on all interior affairs: delegates to the other tribunals their several authorities: forms alliances: and judges, in the last resort, on trials of life and death. In the year 1290, it consisted only of 200, but the bannerets, and sixteen, did not adhere to any stated period or rule of election, so that through interest and favour, it increased to between three and four hundred, when the abuse becoming too flagrant, it was corrected by law, and the number fixed at 299, which it now is. As a seat in the great council is an object of general ambition, many candidates offer themselves for the vacancies; to obviate any ill consequences from the competition of such pretenders, it has been wisely determined that no election shall take place, until there be a deficiency of at least 80 members, by which means the senate and seizers, who are the electors, have it the more in their power to satisfy those who are proposed, each of whom must have accomplished

complished his nine and twentieth year. From this delay an election happens only in ten, twelve, or fourteen years. Each member may propose whatever he thinks conducive to the general good, and the votes of the council are taken on the question. They sit three times a week when assembled. Their vacations take place in the harvest and vintage.

The senate, or as it is otherwise called, the daily council, is chosen from the 299; all civil and political business, which is to be laid before the great council, is previously agitated in this. It also expedites the current affairs of the police: presents to most of the livings or ecclesiastical benefices, disposes of the inferior charges of the executive government, and judges, as dernier resort, all criminal process, except such parts of it as are granted by ancient privilege to particular towns or vassals of the republic. This council is composed of two Advoyers, (or great officers of state) two treasurers, four bannerets, seventeen coun-
K 3 fellows,

fellors, and two privy counsellors, or censors, who succeed in priority from the date of their election to the vacant places of the senate. Their business is to watch over the deliberations of the councils, that nothing may pass in them contrary to the national constitution. The titles of the 299, including the senate, are MAGNIFICENT, HIGH, and POWERFUL SOVEREIGN LORDS, and when spoken of individually, they are called their EXCELLENCIES. The public magistrates are annually re-elected in Easter week, and the senate is obliged to demand a new patent of protection from the great council, in token of its dependence on it. Many of the chief officers are elected for a certain time, and some for life, or rather *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, as the sovereign council reserves to itself the power of deposing them, in case of mal-administration; but all places are confirmed at certain appointed periods.

The principal colleges of government are the council of war; the chamber of appeal
for

for the German part of the canton: the chamber of appeal for the Pays de Vaud, where the language is French: the committees for the management of the public granaries: for the forests: for the sale of salt: for the police: for the public buildings: for the customs or duties: for commerce: and the council of health. These, with many other, too tedious to mention, form separate commissions, each of which has a senator as president, and is charged with the execution of government's orders in their several departments, where they are to discuss preparatorily such matters as are proper to them, and to report their opinions, and the motives of such, to the sovereign council.

As to the ministry of the church, all young men, who are intended for holy orders, go through a course of study, according to a system established in the academies of Berne or Lausanne. After having passed the necessary examinations, the candidates receive consecration by the imposition of

hands, and with it the cure of souls. Church benefices, as I have before observed, are given by the senate, except those of the capital, which are reserved for the disposal of the great council, and the private benefices which depend on the recommendation of the patrons. The German clergy are divided in eight synods or chapters, which assemble separately every year. At their head they have a dean to examine the conduct of each individual pastor, and deliberate on matters of religion. The Pays de Vaud has five classes, in which are comprised the churches and bailiwicks in common, between Berne, Freyberg, and those of Boucheberg in the canton of Soleure, which have embraced the reformation.

The pastors assist at the parish consistories, where breaches of moral duty, and crimes of adultery and fornication are reported, with all matrimonial business and suits of divorce. These are transferred to the supreme consistory of Berne, which is jointly composed of civil and ecclesiastical judges, similar to what it is at Basil.

The

The military of Berne is formed of twenty-one regiments of infantry, each consisting of 2500 men, divided in two great battalions of twelve companies: four regiments of dragoons of ten troops, or five squadrons each, and three companies of engineers and matrosses. The soldiers provide themselves with arms and accoutrements, and all the subjects (the councils, the clergy, and some public officers excepted) from sixteen to sixty, are registered for the service. The canton, in virtue of former treaties with France and Holland, is obliged to furnish recruits for four avowed regiments, two in each country; I say avowed, as others are privately permitted to be raised for the service of these states. As it is not my intention to write the history of Switzerland, I wish this sketch of its government may satisfy you; to-morrow we continue our tour, and I shall have more matter for my letter when I resume the subject.

WE

Freyburg, Aug. 20.

WE found the country between Berne and Freyburg as fruitful and well cultivated, as from Arberg to Berne. This town covers the side of a very steep hill, under which runs the clear river Sane. Though not striking, it contains some fine edifices, and is, from its uneven situation, and the care of its inhabitants, remarkably clean. It is divided in four quarters, called the Town, the Isle, the Burgh, and the Hospital. The principal buildings are the cathedral, town hall, fountain, great tower, Jesuits college, with many churches and convents. There is here a commandery of Malta, the religion being that of Rome. The town was bought by the Emperor Rodolph the first, of the Counts of Freyburg. Rodolph was Count of Hapsburg, and Chief of the Austrian family. It continued under his successors above 200 years, and was obliged to take part in the wars
against

against Berne, and the other rising societies of Switzerland.

In 1450 Albert duke of Austria, perceiving it impossible to support his authority, of which indeed his arbitrary and oppressive government had made him undeserving, resigned it; but in a manner that equally displayed the meanness of his disposition, and the impotence of his resentment. His lieutenant Thuring de Hallwyl informed the citizens, that Albert, on this occasion, intended to appear in person at Freyburg; and they, to satisfy his vanity for the last time, made the most splendid preparations for his reception. Hallwyl, having gotten into his possession their plate, waited a few days for the duke's arrival, and then, seemingly surprised at his delay, went out to meet him, accompanied by the principal citizens, and the treasure he had collected. On the road they were surrounded by a detachment of the duke's troops, and Hallwyl, who had preconcerted the surprise with Albert, suddenly turning upon

upon them, said ; “ The duke will come no more, but leaves you in full possession of that independence which you have so earnestly desired. However, that you may make some return for so generous an action, he condescends to take with him all the plate you have put into my hands for his reception, as a token of your gratitude.” After this laconic oration, he turned his back, and left them speechless with astonishment. Some years after this extraordinary acknowledgment of their independence, the inhabitants got into a war with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. This was the epoch of their real liberty, when with their allies they shared the risk and glory of the battles gained over this rash prince in 1476 and 77, at Granfon, Morat, and Nancy ; in commemoration of which, the citizens of Freyburg, solemnize two great annual festivals on the 2d of May, and 22d of June, the days on which the two former of these victories were won.

The

The sovereign authority and legislative power belong to the great council of 200, the other tribunals and committees being either subdivisions of, or subordinate to it. The government is not an aristocracy, but oligarchy, as the right of being admitted into the great council is confined to seventy-one Patrician families. However, the other citizens enjoy all privileges, though ineligible to the magistracy; but the burghers in seven and twenty parishes of the original district, have the right of voting at the election of a new Advoyer, or chief of the republic. The city is divided in four quarters, each of which chuses a banneret, fifteen members for the council of sixty, and twenty-eight for the great council, which, together with the twenty-four members of the lesser, make up the 200. The prerogated families alone can be adopted by any of the thirteen tribes of burghers, and they must be one and twenty years of age before they are eligible to the great council. At thirty a Patrician may be chosen into the body of sixty, and it is necessary that he should

should be of this order to enter into the twenty-four; but a father and son, or two brothers, cannot sit at the same time, either as bannerets or senators of the lesser council. The two Advoyers preside at the different councils, and the stathalter or lieutenant is next to them in precedence. This honour has for the last century been conferred on the senior of the twenty-four. The charges of treasurer, burgomaster, and commissary-general, follow in rank. The bannerets succeed the members of the lesser council, and preside at the council of state, consisting of twenty-four, selected from the body of sixty. The great council confirms the lesser, and that of sixty; and, is confirmed itself by the council of state. Most of the elections are determined by lot, which with great propriety receives the epithet of *blind*, as the names of the candidates are concealed in boxes, into which the electors drop their suffrages. The lesser council judges in dernier resort all civil and criminal proceedings; but should the culprit be a burgher of the capital or ancient district,

district, sentence is pronounced in presence of the great council, which reserves to itself the power of mitigating the punishment, or of pardoning the offence.

There are several inferior councils and courts, which I think needless to mention, having already written to you as much as I could wish to remember of this government.

The population is computed at 74,000 souls, the military amounts to four companies of burghers, and eleven regiments of militia.

About six miles from Freyburg is an hermitage, which has very much and very deservedly engaged the attention of the curious. It is worked out of a rock that rises over the river Sane, and encompassed by a romantic wilderness. There are several apartments in it, from one of which the solitary tenant has cut a chimney through the rock—a most laborious work, eighty feet

feet in height. He had also, by extreme toil and perseverance, formed a plane, on which he laid a sufficient quantity of mould to produce the vegetables that supplied his frugal board, and in the side of the rock had hewn cisterns to receive the clear water that distilled from it; the quantity of which he increased by tracing and opening the veins through which it oozed. This remarkable man, whose name was John de Prè, resided here five and twenty years, cherished and respected by the whole country, particularly by the peasantry; at the end of which, in 1708, as he was crossing the river Sane, on his return from accompanying some young people, who had assisted at the consecration of his little chapel, his foot slipped, he fell, and perished. What a subject for pity and reflection!

Yverdun, August 21.

WE continued our journey from Freyburg to Yverdun; and, previously to our arrival, enjoyed a most beautiful view of the

the lake of Neufchatel, or, as it is here called, of Yverdun. On the opposite bank is the village of Granfon, famous for the victory gained over Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, by the confederate Swifs. This country abounds in vineyards, which produce a wholefome and excellent white wine. I will not fay, it is for this reason that Yverdun is fo much frequented by the Englifh, but really I do not comprehend why it is fo preferred; it furely cannot be for the French language, as the accent is not good. It ftands in a fine country, has many well built houfes, and upon the whole might be called a pretty little town. It was named by the Romans *Castrum Ebrodunense*, and after them fucceffively poffeffed by the kings of Burgundy, and dukes of Zeringhen and Savoy. Under the dominion of the latter it continued until the year 1536, when it was included in the conquest of the Pays de Vaud. No city of the thirteen cantons has experienced fuch calamities as Yverdun. In the fifteenth century it was almoft destroyed by

Vol. I. L fire,

fire, and had scarce recovered, when an inundation of the river Thiele, on which it stands, laid the whole waste, carrying away several houses, and the town hall. In 1475, it was besieged and taken by the Swifs, in consequence of the alliance that subsisted between the Duke of Savoy, its possessor, and Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy. The miseries that it suffered during the continuance of this war are particularly stated in an act of the former of these Princes, dated July 13th, 1480, in which it is reported to have been frequently pillaged by the soldiers of each party, and ultimately reduced to ashes by the Swifs, who sometimes appeared as Germans and sometimes as Theotons. The wretched inhabitants wandered about the country for subsistence, until collected and brought back by the Duke of Savoy, who, in compassion of their situation, assisted them in rebuilding their town, supplied them with whatever they wanted, and granted them several privileges and immunities. I shall pass over in silence the few
unin-

uninteresting public buildings that we saw, and mention an institution which I am convinced will particularly claim your attention as an active magistrate. This is a society of some of the principal inhabitants of Yverdun, formed in 1760, for the purpose of preventing begging, and for the encouragement of labour. The members of it make and receive voluntary contributions, with which they are enabled not only to support those whom age or accident has rendered incapable of acquiring a subsistence, but so to train the children of the poorer inhabitants, that, by their industry, they may be serviceable to the community. All these are employed in the country, and such is the effect of this useful charity, that not a beggar is to be seen in the streets of Yverdun.

Having told you that this place is much frequented by English gentlemen, it reminds me of a circumstance that happened to one of them a few years ago, from whom I heard it. This gentleman had

L 2 passed

passed some months at Yverdun, and had generally dined at a *table d'hôte*, in a mixed company of English, French, and Swiss. On going away he called for his bill; and, thinking he had been considerably over-rated, examined the bar-book, in which he found the *honest* man of the house had charged the English for each dinner as much again as the other foreigners; being of course upbraided for his roguery, he replied, "Tout au contraire Monsieur; je suis plus que juste; car vous messieurs les Anglois êtes *dix* fois plus riches que les autres gens, et je ne vous demande que *le double*."*

* Quite the reverse, Sir; I am more than honest, in as much as you Englishmen are *ten* times richer than other people, and I only charge you *double*.

LETTER VIII.

Lausanne, Aug. 24th, 1787.

THE morning of our departure from Yverdon, we got into a carriage for the first time since we had been in Switzerland, and ascended until we came within a few miles of Lausanne. From the summit of the hill we looked over the lake of Geneva and the surrounding country, which is as beautiful as language can describe, or imagination conceive it. The view from the town is equally fine, though it stands rather lower; but the interior ill accords with its situation, being ill built, and so uneven, that there is not a street in it in which the passenger does not mount or descend. Near it is a public walk under an avenue of large trees, which commands the lake: the mountains of Faucignie: the Pays de Vaud: Mount Jura: and the Alps of Savoy. We dedicated the first day of

our arrival to the English newspapers, which we found in a literary coffee-house; and never I believe were two creatures happier in the discovery. The second we descended to the little village of Ouchie, or Port of Lausanne, which lies directly under it on the edge of the lake. Having hired a boat we were carried over to Mellierie in the duchy of Chablais, a part of his Sardinian Majesty's dominion; and oh! what a sudden transition from opulence to poverty, from liberty to slavery, from happiness to misery! never were the effects of different governments more apparent in two nations than in these on the opposite sides of the lake. On that of Switzerland, nothing meets the eye but what gladdens the heart of the philanthropist; on that of Chablais, nothing but what pains it. Here it is that philosophy may contemplate the opposite consequences of a free and despotic government, and hail liberty, as next to health, the chief blessing that the great Author of Nature can bestow. The more I see the more I am enamoured of her. Mellierie

is

is a beggarly village that lies along a narrow slip of land between the lake and rocks behind it, which seem, as it were, to lean upon and force it into the water. The inhabitants are as wretched as idleness, poverty, and superstition, can make them. Their chief dependence for food being upon the lake, I cannot conceive how they exist in a severe winter, when the surface of it is a continued sheet of ice. This place is generally visited for the purpose of seeing Lausanne and the opposite shore to advantage, particularly, as the whole country has been so pleasingly painted by the lively pencil of Rousseau in his *Nouvelle Heloise*; from the rocks of Mellicerie St. Prieux wrote that letter to his Julia which is so generally admired as descriptive of the many sensations that arise in the breast of an absent lover on seeing, or thinking that he sees, the distant habitation of his mistress; and which Rousseau himself considered as the master-piece of the whole: I don't know what your sentiments may be of this novel, but I am so unfashionable as to think it ex-

tremely exceptionable, and the characters out of nature, particularly that of Julia the heroine; nevertheless I am charmed with the style and language, which unite two qualities seldom found in similar compositions of the French language, sweetness and energy. Rousseau has done more in this respect, than Marmontel, De la Fontaine, or even Voltaire *in prose*.

From this place we re-crossed the water to Vevay, the most delightful town in Switzerland. This upper part of the lake is, I must confess, equal to any thing we have seen on our tour. Mr. Pocock thinks it superior, and calls it one of those complete prospects to which no ideal beauty can be added; my opinion is divided between this and the environs of Lucerne; they are rivals, but which is the most beautiful I really cannot determine. We lay one night at Vevay, and returned the next morning by water to Ouchie, and thence to Lausanne. This city is famous for a council held in 1448, when Amadeus the Eighth, Duke of Savoy,
then

then Pope, under the name of Felix the Fifth, resigned the pontificate for the generous purpose of terminating a schism in the church of Rome. Berne, on the reduction of the Pays de Vaud, not only confirmed Lausanne in all its ancient privileges, but granted many in addition. It enjoys its own magistracy, composed of a burgo-master, five bannerets, and three councils, besides other subordinate officers. The academy, when founded in 1537, consisted only of two professors in Greek and Hebrew; but has now two pastors, two professors of Theology, and others in modern Philosophy, Greek, Hebrew, Belles Lettres, Mathematics, Civil Law; and about fourteen years ago, the government of Berne established a new professorship in Medicine for their modern Æsculapius M. Tissot.

Among the exclusive privileges which this town possesses, one is very singular. In a certain part of it, the inhabitants may acquit or condemn any of their own body in affairs of life and death, and at these trials
every

every individual has the right of voting, which has considerably enhanced the rent of houses in that district.

Lausanne is the favorite residence of the celebrated Mr. Gibbon. We wished much to see him, but he was gone to publish the two last volumes of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in England.

To-morrow we shall make an end of our Swiss tour.

Geneva, Aug. 27,

On leaving Lausanne we passed through the towns of Morges, Rolle, and Copet, which are pleasingly situate near the lake. The former carries on some trade, and has a commodious port, built by the government of Berné. Great will be your surprise when I tell you I was much disappointed with the celebrated *Pays de Vaud*. That it is one of the finest and most fruitful

ful countries of Europe. I am ready to acknowledge; and indeed as beautiful as a great variety of villas, intermixed with pastures and vineyards, can make it; nevertheless, there being little wood, few rivers, and no mountain, it by no means answered my expectations. It seems to me bare of that varied scenery, which makes Switzerland the most picturesque country of Europe. I know that I am very singular in opinion, but I have promised you on these occasions to think for myself, and you see I persevere in my resolution.

To make up for the deficiency of my former letters on the Swiss cantons, permit me to conclude this with a few necessary addenda, which I shall beg leave to introduce by the following summary account of their general union and alliance.

I have before observed that in 1315, Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, entered into a perpetual league for their mutual defence, being fearful of incroachments by the house
of

of Austria.* In 1332, Lucerne joined this alliance in opposition to a design which had been formed by the Austrian party to prevent it, and get possession of the town. In 1351, Zurich from similar motives (a conspiracy of its banished citizens) made the fifth confederate canton: and, from its superior power, and wealth, was considered as the first of the association. The following year Glaris and Zug acceded; and in 1353, Berne, though a previous alliance subsisted between it and the three first Waldstoett. Before this period, the cantons allied themselves for their mutual protection; but we find from experience, that the love of freedom is so closely connected with ambition, that no sooner have we acquired our liberty than we are desirous of increasing our dominion at the expence of our neighbours. Thus it was in the present instance,

* There was an alliance which had subsisted between these three cantons ever since the year 1291, but it was not made perpetual till 1315, after their victory over the Austrians at Morgarten.

though

though with more appearance of justice, as the enemies of the Swifs were the aggressors ; but it too often happens, that among nations, justice and interest are synonymous, Two circumstances now arose, which induced them to take a more active part, and bear arms on the offensive ; the first was the restless ambition of the Dukes of Austria ; who, by secret intrigue, as well as open force, would have reduced them to a state of vassalage ; and the second, the encouragement of the Emperors, who, jealous of the growing power of Austria, persuaded them, by assurances of support, to violate all treaties. For the purpose of terminating these dangerous factions, the allied cantons in 1370, entered into a convention, which regulated every thing with the Germans, and for the general welfare of the league.

But Lucerne, probably conscious that the new allies would make its private quarrel a common cause, broke with the House of Austria, for the purpose of exonerating itself from

from a duty imposed upon its inhabitants at Rothenburg. This brought on a general war, which, after two famous victories gained by the Swifs in 1386, and 1388, at Sempach in Lucerne, and Nafels in Glaris, was concluded by an advantageous peace; but aware of the dangerous consequence that might result from too great presumption on their valour and alliance, they entered into a convention at Sempach in 1393, for the purpose of preventing individuals, or even any one people of the triple confederacy, from engaging in a war without the consent and approbation of the whole. In 1460 the conquest of Turgovy, or the country that lies between the canton of Zurich, and the lake of Constance, occasioned their celebrated war with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, which ended with his defeat and death at Granfon, Morat, and Nancy. This quarrel was fomented by that perfidious monarch, Lewis the Eleventh of France, who only consulted in it his own interest, by the destruction of his rival Charles; however, the event of the war

war may be considered as the epoch of two important circumstances in Swiss history—their perpetual union with Austria, and an alliance with the crown of France. But this tide of success was not unaccompanied by evil, as it introduced among the conquerors the spirit of pride and licentiousness, which probably would have ended in their disunion, had not Nicholas de Flue, an anchorite, left his retreat, and at a meeting of the deputies in Stanz, formerly the chief place of Underwalden, persuaded them so fully of their real interests, in a strain of the most animated eloquence inspired by patriotism, and the danger to which his country was exposed, that they entered into an immediate convention, by which they determined on the following resolutions: That mutual protection should be granted, as well from interior as exterior violence; that justice should be impartially administered among them: and that the profits of successful war should be divided in proportion to their respective quotas of troops and money. After this they confirmed their
ancient

ancient treaties of union, and agreed to swear to them every five years. About this period, Freyburg and Soleure were associated to the common league, and in 1501 Basil and Shaffhausen; the last was Appenzel, which in 1513, made up the whole number.

Whilst the four Waldstœtt, and the other cantons on that side of Switzerland, which afterwards acceded to the combination, were dismembering the territories of Austria, Berne and Freyburg took possession of the Pays de Vaud, Gex, and Chablais, part of the dukes of Savoy's dominions, who, though incapable of recovering by force what had been stripped from them, could not renounce their superior right to these countries, until through the mediation of Spain, France, and the neutral cantons, the then reigning duke, obtaining restitution of Gex and Chablais, renounced all pretension to the Pays de Vaud, and ceded it to Berne and Freyburg for ever. Since this period, the limits of Switzerland have neither been extended

tended not diminished. What principally disturbed the internal harmony of the cantons, was a difference in religious opinions. On this dangerous subject wars arose between Berne and Zurich for the reformers; and Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, and Zug, for the church of Rome. However, after various success, they were happily ended, and are not likely to be renewed.

The only constitution that can be said to have any reference to the national body of the Swiss, is the establishment of a confederate army, determined on in 1688, between the cantons, and their allies. This, however, was adopted only as a plan of defence, similar to our militia,* each state

* In the contribution of these troops the following proportion is observed, according to the original agreement between the cantons and their allies.

	No. of Men.	Religion.	Government.
1 Zurich	— 1400	Protest	Aristocracy
2 Berne	— 2000	Protest	Aristocracy
3 Lucerne	— 1200	Cathol	Aristocracy
4 Uri	— 400	Cathol	Democracy

sending its quota of troops according to its extent and population ; the whole forms a

5	Schweitz	—	600	Cathol	Democracy
6	Underwalden		400	Cathol	Democracy
7	Zug	—	400	Cathol	Democracy
8	Glaris	—	400	Mixed	Democracy
9	Basil	—	400	Protest	Aristocracy
10	Freyburg	—	800	Cathol	Aristocracy
11	Soleure	—	600	Cathol	Aristocracy
12	Schaffhausen		400	Protest	Aristocracy
13	Appenzel	—	600	Mixed	Democracy

Allies of the Cantons.

1	Abbey of St. Gall	1000	Mixed
2	Town of St. Gall	200	Protest
3	Bienne	—	200

Provinces subject to the Cantons.

1	Lugano	—	400	Cathol
2	Locarno	—	200	Cathol
3	Mendrisio	—	100	Cathol
4	Val Maggia		100	Cathol
5	The free bailiwicks		300	Cathol
6	Sargans	—	300	Cathol
7	Turgovy	—	600	Mixed
8	Baden	—	200	Cathol
9	The Rheinthal		200	Mixed

Total 13,400 Men.

body

body of 13,400 men, but in cases of necessity this number would be considerably augmented in the same proportion.

The commerce of Switzerland is very inconsiderable. Its exports consist of linens, muslin, hides, and the produce of their dairies, which are small huts called *Chalets*, built on the mountains, where during the summer months, their cattle are sent to feed. The Swiss cheese is excellent, and consequently much esteemed in the neighbouring countries, particularly in France, where a great consumption is made of it. Their imports are considerable, though a frugal people, they being in want of corn, iron, and salt; the latter article they draw from France: and according to the treaties of alliance subsisting between the two countries, receive annually a certain quantity at a much more reasonable price than it is sold by the French government to their own subjects. Nevertheless, even in Switzerland it is a dear article, being retailed by the officers of state, who monopolize, and

draw a principal part of the public revenues from its sale. The total receipt of Berne amounts to about 75,000*l.* and of Zurich to a little more than one half. Exclusive of this tax on salt, the revenue is made up by customs and duties on merchandize, the profits of demesne lands, and the tithes of the general produce of the country (the clergy being paid by government) to which might be added the money that the different cantons receive from foreign powers for the hire of their troops. This is a custom that has given rise to a difference of opinion among the Swiss, relative to its advantage or ill consequence. They, who oppose it, maintain that the officers and soldiers of these regiments, acquire the vices of the different countries in which they serve, and on their return to Switzerland, by spreading them, corrupt the purer morals of its inhabitants. In answer to this it is asserted, that, as the revenues of the cantons are inadequate to the expences of government and the support of a sufficient army for the national defence,
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it is necessary to pursue this system laid down by their ancestors, as it gives them all the advantages of a regular army, without the expence of its maintenance, it being stipulated in their treaties, that in case of attack from foreign enemy, these troops, which amount to 30,000, should be at liberty to return home, and act in concert with their countrymen. Both of these arguments are plausible; but the question is, if they be admitted as fact, whether the morality of a nation should be sacrificed to its policy; but it may be asserted again, that true policy is inseparable from good morals, and still further, the Swiss cannot be apprehensive of the encroachments of any foreign state, as long as they perceive that the general aim of Europe is to preserve an equilibrium of power;* this balance is their best, and indeed their only safeguard; for though no

* Since the *immortal* Catherine has made the Poles free and happy, by adding them to her dominions, the reader may perhaps think that this equilibrium no longer exists. Her next great act will be the conversion of the Turks, for which no place is so proper as Constantinople.

soldier, I think I might assert that Switzerland with all its force, could never maintain a defensive war against either France or the Emperor. The Swiss and their allies are supposed to amount to more than two millions of souls. Their manner of living is much more simple than that of their neighbours, as they are more restricted by their respective governments; sumptuary laws being in full force among them, and no amusement, such as games of hazard, plays, operas, or even dancing, except at appointed times, being permitted. As every citizen is a soldier (the clergy excepted) they on Sundays, after divine service, go through the military exercise; they are careful of the education of their youth, as is evident from their public seminaries or universities; the principal of which are at Basil and Berne.—In giving you a sketch of the national character, I shall confine myself to the popular governments, as I think the people there retain the temper and manner of the ancient Swiss, more than the other cantons. Of them I think very favourably, provided

provided I except those of the lower class, who have seen other countries, or have any communication with travellers; as such are not only in this, but I believe in every country of the world, mercenary and deceitful. With regard to the general inhabitants of these cantons, they seem to be frugal without meanness; brave without vanity; and hospitable without ostentation: to strangers they are courteous and polite, without being either designing or troublesome. They value but little those distinctions of rank, birth, and fortune, which in the other countries of Europe, and indeed in the other cantons of Switzerland, are so obsequiously cultivated, as they measure the dignity of the situation by the merit of the individual. Every man here knows the advantages of his own free government; and as he also knows himself to be a component part of it, is from interest as well as principle, a real patriot. Such is their attachment to their country, that of the Swiss regiments in foreign service, many of the soldiers, after a long absence, pine and sicken

for their return. Should that liberty be refused them (which never is from experience of the ill consequence) their death is inevitable ; as neither promotion nor emolument can dissipate the melancholy that preys upon them. Home is the only cure of this singular malady, which is called the *Swiss sickness*,* and that infallible. In domestic life their private virtues flow from their public character ; to their parents they are grateful and obedient : to their families affectionate and attentive : inflexible in friendship : mild as superiors : and benevolent as men.

They call it in German *das heim wehe*. There is no motive that induces us to recollect the places which we love, more than the *music* we have heard in them ; and from this it is, that all songs and tunes that were popular in their country, are strictly forbidden among the *Swiss* regiments in foreign service.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

Grenoble, Sept. 14, 1787.

ON our return to Geneva, we found between forty and fifty English gentlemen, among whom, Lord P——t, and some others, had lately been put in prison, from which, after a week's confinement, they were released through the intercession of his R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, but banished the republic for life. I really think the magistrates exerted their authority with extreme rigour; and this seems to be the opinion of all the foreigners with whom I have conversed. The offence for which they were punished was (as I am informed) an altercation and scuffle with the guard, for the purpose of getting out of the city after the gates were shut; an act so inconsiderate, that we cannot suppose any men would have been capable of attempting it, if they had not been very
much

much in liquor, which was the case. The commandant of a French city would have laughed at such a circumstance, as childish, and beneath his attention; and I think the magistrates of Geneva should have been satisfied with reprimanding the offenders, if only in consideration of their being young men and foreigners; but impatient of opposition to their authority, and fearful, that private disturbance might produce general insurrection, they judged with violence, and punished with severity. During our stay at this place we made an excursion to Ferney, formerly the seat and residence of Voltaire. The good which he did here is universally known, and universally acknowledged. He was the friend of the distressed, and the promoter of industry. The population of the village increased during his abode in it (which was but a few years) from eight to twelve hundred persons, and never was there a happier or more peaceful society established, though it consisted of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The castle or seat which he built
for

for himself has nothing very striking in its appearance. We were led into every apartment, and in the study saw fixed over the door a sarcophagus, in which is an urn of silver gilt, that contains his heart; upon it is the following inscription:

*Son esprit est par tout, mais son cœur est ici.**

Before the house is a church, which he built and consecrated to God; and in front of it put up this motto, *DEO EREXIT*. You know the sentiments of Voltaire on religion, therefore I need not say any thing on that subject. We examined every thing with attention, and were sorry to find that the present owner neglects the pleasure grounds and buildings. Perhaps he intends to convert the former into a wilderness, and the latter into ruins, for they already border on them.

A few days after this excursion we agreed with an Italian Vetturino, or man

* His genius is every where, but his heart is here.

that

that lets out horses, to conduct us over the Alps, and left Geneva on the 10th. We travelled through roads, which, though bad, pleased us more than the wild prospect on each side to Remellie, a town of miserable houses, and still more miserable inhabitants. However, I was neither surprised nor disappointed, as I knew myself in Savoy. Remellie stands on a steep rising over the river Arve, the foul current of which is but the counterpart of the general appearance of the country. We crossed it by a bridge, the descent to which on each side is extremely dangerous; but we had the satisfaction to perceive that our postillions, who were no strangers to the place, took all care, and indeed they had every reason to do so, for, on our arrival at the inn we found a gentleman of Geneva, and his sister, who but a week ago had fallen in their carriage over the side of this bridge, and escaped, as it were, by miracle. The postillion, who drove them, had neglected to chain the wheel, and the horses in descending, being unable to sustain the weight
of

of the carriage, and turn short over the bridge, were forced through a slight rail at the side, and fell at least forty feet. The gentleman with uncommon presence of mind, finding it impossible to prevent the accident, caught his sister in his arms, and probably by so doing, preserved both their lives; for the carriage was broken to pieces, the horses killed, and the postillion would have shared the same fate, (which none could have lamented) had he not thrown himself off on the very verge of the precipice. We congratulated them on their providential escape; and were happy to hear that, though much bruised, they were entirely out of danger. How strongly does this circumstance plead the necessity of making postillions use every precaution against accidents of this nature, for who so negligent and inattentive? We lay that night in this wretched inn, and the day following travelled to Chamberry, through a country more rude and mountainous than the most unfrequented parts of Switzerland. This city, the capital of the duchy,
and

and residence of the ancient dukes of Savoy, has not, in my opinion, any thing to recommend it to the attention of travellers, being upon the whole ill built, and situate in a country which by no means pleases my taste, though I am free to own, that the environs present a great variety of objects ; but the neglected state of agriculture, particularly in the vines, which trail along the ground for want of attention : the mean appearance of the peasantry : the wild aspect of the impending Alps : and the muddy torrents which run down from these mountains—with me an insuperable objection to any country, render the whole one of the most ineligible places of abode I ever saw. Nevertheless, we found the city full of people, and a large body of troops in garrison. While dinner was preparing, we procured a guide, who led us to an old castle, some churches, monasteries, the Jesuits college, and public walks ; all of which had little of our attention, as we thought them but little deserving of it. In the neighbourhood are several mineral springs,

springs, which are esteemed very salubrious, and certain remedies for paralytic complaints; but the principal and most celebrated are at Aix, the *Aquæ Gratianæ* of the Romans, a small town between this and Remellie, where we found many invalids. The waters of that place are more impregnated with sulphur and allum than any I had ever seen; indeed all who go there merit a return of health, if it be only for the inconveniencies they suffer during their stay, as I think I never was in such a hole of a town, which notwithstanding is honoured with the title of Marquisate.

We left Chamberry on the day of our arrival, and found the country improve as we proceeded; but what pleased us most were the vines on the road side, now heavily laden with their ripe and luscious burdens, of which we did not eat sparingly. A few *sous* procured us a basket-full, and as many thanks as clusters. Indeed, had we been so inclined, we might have gathered them as we passed in the carriage;

riage; but we knew that the quantity of the fruit would not extenuate the injustice of such an act. Having entered France, we lay that night in a village of Dauphiny, the name of which I do not now recollect, and got the next day to its capital Grenoble, which is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river Isere, that divides it from a large suburb. It is not extensive, but to appearance very populous, and full of good company; it once was a place of great strength, being surrounded by high walls and bastions, which are now in the last stage of decay. Its bishops are honoured with the title of princes, but the see is dependent on the metropolitan of Vienne; its parliament was appointed by Lewis the XIth when dauphin, in 1453. This province, after the general partage of the Roman empire, was possessed by the Burgundians, from whom it was taken by the Franks, and made part of the kingdom of Arles. It then became subject to the emperor of Germany, so that it appears to have been successively owned by the same masters as the town

town and territory of Geneva. Guigne le gros Count of Grignauden, taking advantage of the disputes between the emperors and the see of Rome, got possession of it in 1101, and by him or his successors it was first called Dauphiny, from the circumstance of their bearing a dolphin as their arms. It remained in this family till the time of Humbert the II^d, Count and Dauphin of the Viennois, who, having lost both his sons, the elder in the battle of Cressy, and the younger by an accident, sold the province to Philip de Valois, for five and twenty thousand pounds (or 100,000 golden florins) but at the same time stipulated, that the eldest son of the French kings should assume the name of Dauphin, and quarter the arms of the province. This agreement was entered into and signed on the 23^d of April, 1343, at Bois de Vincennes near Paris, and Charles the Vth, grandson of Philip de Valois, was the first who assumed the title.

The morning after our arrival at this town, we set off with the light for the fa-

mous Carthusian monastery, about nineteen miles from Grenoble. The two first hours were employed in ascending a steep hill, after which we traversed a country very similar to the most romantic parts of Switzerland, though not the most beautiful. When we came near the monastery, we entered a narrow valley, or rather passage through the rocks, down which gushed a torrent of the clearest water, and having passed under a gate that occupies the whole entrance, ascended one of the most woodland and picturesque countries I had ever seen, to the place of our destination. Of the convent I shall only observe, that it is a large pile of building, with every convenience for its monastic society; but it is the *situation* that is so remarkable, being every thing that the most melancholy enthusiast could wish, as the secluded seat of prayer and retirement—rocks and woods, and everlasting solitude: yet how frequently does it happen, that the most admirable design is counteracted by the very circumstance that is intended to produce the desired effect?

fect? as in the instance before us. The country in which this monastery is situated, was chosen on account of its romantic appearance, and distance from all society, as best adapted to devotion; but it is this very situation that makes it a place of general resort. I believe few convents see so much company, and sure I am, that none treat their guests with more good breeding and hospitality. On our arrival we were most politely received by one of the order, whom we supposed master of the ceremonies for the brotherhood. He first shewed us the house, and then conducted us near a mile higher to the hermitage and chapel of St. Bruno. If you should be unacquainted with St. Bruno, I must inform you, that about the year 1100, he was a canon of Rheims, and founder of this order and monastery; but before he built the latter, he had retired to his hermitage, which to us appeared an habitation more adapted to the nature of a toad, than to that of man, where he passed many of his latter years in prayer and severe penance. Poor maniac! our

companion said not a word either of him, or of his cell; indeed *he* was quite a man of the world, and conversed so liberally on what passed in it, that had it not been for his habit, I never should have guessed at his profession. On our return to the monastery, we entered a large room, and were honoured with the company of the Principal, who was quite as polite and entertaining as our first acquaintance; indeed, all the fraternity we saw, were in possession of these engaging qualities. Female society was the only enjoyment wanting to make it a most charming community: but women are to all appearance excluded. Whilst dinner was preparing, we diverted ourselves with a book called the Album, in which all who visit the convent are desired to write their names, and whatever else they please. We found on inspection, many of our acquaintance, and such a medley of poetry and prose, as never was collected before. Oh that some wag would transcribe these books, and publish the copies of them in England! Then would you see invocations

tions to the Muses, addressees to the Dryads, odes to the Monks for a dinner, descriptions of the place, and sentiments, oh what sentiments ! grave and philosophic, tender and elegiac ; but the best is, you would also see who were the authors of these *inestimable* compositions, as their names are written in full length at the bottom. I will answer for the sale of such a book, and must again say, I wish somebody would undertake it. When we had amused ourselves near an hour in examining this magazine of Belles Lettres, our attention was called off to table, where we found an excellent service of fish, roots, eggs, cheese and butter, dried fruits, and good wines. What noble fellows are these monks ! they accused our appetites, though we ate like two aldermen, and were sorry their wine was not good, when we were deep in the second bottle ; never did I make a better dinner, never met with more agreeable company ; but, alas ! friends must part. They pressed us very much to take another bottle at supper : but no, we, like Shylock, had an oath to

return that evening to Grenoble. Therefore shaking very near the whole convent by the hand, which took up at least a quarter of an hour, we bade farewell, mounted our horses, and arrived in good time for *Tartuffe*, one of the inimitable Moliere's best comedies. In the theatre, we renewed acquaintance with an officer of the regiment de Saintonge, who had been our fellow-traveller from Challons to Lyons. He introduced us to many of his corps, all of whom speak a little English, having served part of the last war in America. I cannot express to you my astonishment at finding these gentlemen, and those of another regiment, in violent opposition to the measures of government, and advocates for an assembly of the States-general, who, they say should alone determine on the taxes and contributions of the kingdom. What reason have I now to admire the declaration of the gentleman with whom I conversed at Nismes four months ago.* Pray examine

* This alludes to part of a letter not published.

my letter dated from that place. I then looked upon his opinion as the mere result of his wishes. I now discover it to have been founded upon the intimate knowledge of his countrymen. The French *will be free*: and it is the example of Britain that has given birth to this bold spirit. The fermentation is high, the cry general, the remonstrances firm, hardy, and determined. I believe I might so far risk an opinion, as to assert that Louis the XVIth must accede to every thing which they may think proper to demand; for when a government, which has been supported by a military establishment alone, hears the voices of the people and *army* insist on certain privileges, how can it refuse? The king must call an assembly of the states, and their power will be superior to his. All this is the consequence of having supported the Americans; for not only the officers who were sent to assist them, caught the flame of liberty, and naturally asked themselves why they had it not; but it having involved the nation in such debts, the king was thrown

upon the desperate expedient of having recourse to a National Assembly, which I am persuaded, will reduce his authority to a shadow. When a people are thus united for the purpose of examining the abuses of their government, the consequence, depend upon it, is liberty; but let us wait, and be attentive.*

* The author is sorry to observe, that instead of liberty, a total subversion of order, of religion, and of justice has succeeded, and yet he still is of opinion, that the present sanguinary Convention, will, on the establishment of peace, be called to severe account by the great body of the nation; and, that a moderate, a wise, and happy government will be established. To subdue them, when united, as they now are, is impossible: it is probable that England will be convinced of this assertion, before the end of the present year.

Jan. 5th, 1794.

LETTER

LETTER X.

Turin.

HAVING passed two days most agreeably at Grenoble, we left it on the 14th; and, travelling back part of the road we had come, arrived in the evening at Montmellian, a town situate immediately under the Alps, and at the entrance of one of their deep and narrow valleys watered by the river Isere. I can say nothing favourable of the place, as it consists of wretched cottages, for the most part in ruins. Above the town are the mouldering remains of a citadel, which seems to have been erected for guarding this pass into Italy. The soil of the valley is rich, but neglected; were the inhabitants but half so attentive to the cultivation of the vine, as the husbandmen of Burgundy, I am satisfied they might make an excellent wine, as they have choice of soil and climate.

mate. But here is no incentive to industry and improvement, the return of the peasant's labour is swallowed up by tithes and taxes, and should he be unfortunate enough to have a family, which every where but in Savoy is esteemed a blessing, he is constrained, even by parental affection, to drive them out when children, that in other countries they may gain, by menial service, that subsistence which their own denies; hence it is that *Chimney-sweeper* and *Savoyard* are synonymous in France, as are *Swiss* and *Porter* for the same reason. On the 15th we continued our journey up this winding valley, and entered the hollow regions of the Alps. I suppose the present appearance of their inhabitants is very similar to what it was in the time of the Romans, particularly with regard to their long and shaggy hair, which gives them a wild aspect, though in manners they are easy and simple. We found the roads much better than we expected, but the bridges very dangerous for a carriage, as indeed you will perceive, when I tell you that they

they consist of two fir trees, which extend from bank to bank, and some smaller timber laid crossways, and loose from one beam to the other. It frequently happens that many of these bridges are swept away, and travellers delayed six or eight days in these miserable villages, where, I suppose, they seldom encounter so happy an adventure as the family of Fonrose did—you have read Marmontel's *Shepherdes of the Alps*. After a tedious journey we arrived at St. Jean de Maurienne; which, though the seat of a Prince Bishop, and governed by a commandant, is like all the towns of Savoy, as vile and beggarly as can be imagined. We here met a Frenchman on his return to his own country from Turin, who, as we were standing at the inn door, entered into conversation with us, and begged leave to offer some advice for our conduct on going into Italy; “though the best I can give you, gentlemen, (added he) is not to go at all, for “it is a country of beggars, pickpockets, “and assassins. I have lived there two
“ years,

“ years, and believe that during that time
“ I have seen at least forty people stabbed
“ in the streets ; but, God be praised, I
“ have left the miscreants, and am now
“ going into France, the best country in
“ the world.” Our Vetturino, little Bouchon, who is a native of Turin, happened unfortunately to be present at this *panegyric* on his countrymen ; I could perceive, that as the picture went on, his countenance changed, and his eyes glistened with rage. However, he with much difficulty contained himself till the whole was finished ; when advancing a few steps, he gave our monitor not the retort courteous, but the lie direct, adding, as he turned off with a sneer of contempt, “ The fellow is some French thief, who has escaped from the galleys.” This you may be sure produced a reply ; when mutual abuse rose to such height, that Bouchon, forgetful of the original charge against the Italians, drew out a large case knife ; and now bloody deeds would have ensued, had not Monsieur fled with a precipitancy that fear only could

could have effected. I suppose he made the best of his way home, for we often inquired after him, but he was not to be seen at the inn, though on his arrival there he had ordered a little supper *a la Françoise*. As I by no means approved of this disposition in our postillion, I asked him how he could attempt so base an action. Oh, Sir, said he, I only did it to frighten him a little, but yet he is a Frenchman, and what harm is in killing a Frenchman? The next day we reached Lannebourg, having seen on the road some spots that pleased us much, and which might be made agreeable places of residence, were it not for the idea of being shut up on all sides in this Alpine prison. We also passed some rich mines of silver, lead, and iron, which were discovered about twenty years ago by a company of Spaniards, most of them are neglected merely from want of enterprize in the proprietors; but how can we expect enterprize in Savoy, where the sovereign is absolute, and commerce considered as a stain upon nobility? Lannebourg is situated under

der Mount Cenis,—a vast Alp that terminates the valley, and divides Savoy from Piedmont. Early the next morning our guides took the carriage to pieces, which they put on the backs of some noble mules, and slung the body between two of these animals; in this manner they proceeded two hours before us. We had each a mule; but, having determined to walk all the way, left them to the postillions, and began our journey on foot. Travellers are frequently carried over by men in a chair, something similar to a sedan, but much lighter (as you will suppose) for such a journey, and covered with oilskin. Or in winter, when they descend to Lannebourg, the guides have at the top a kind of sledge, in which they conduct passengers with inconceivable velocity to the bottom. These machines slide on iron keels down the icy sides of the mountain, and may be stopped or guided at will. So agreeable too is the swift passage, that many English gentlemen, as they informed us, have taken the trouble to reascend Mount Cenis for the purpose

purpose of sliding down a second time. We were about an hour and a half in gaining the summit, as we followed the road, which is made in a winding direction for the purpose of easing the ascent. Having sat some time to refresh ourselves, we continued our journey on foot over a large plain, which extends in an oblong form between two ranges of mountain; and something more than half way over arrived at two or three houses called the Hospital, built for the reception of the poor pilgrim, who travels over the Alps for the purpose of kissing St. Peter's toe, or saying Ave Marias to our lady of Loretto. Opposite this place is a lake about two miles and a half in circumference, which produces the most exquisite trout I ever tasted; those of our boasted Usk being so inferior in flavour, that I will not even bring them in comparison. Bouchon, who had left nothing unattempted to expiate his conduct at St. Jean de Maurienne, plumed himself on directing us to this luxury, and indeed the merit of this action was so great, that had I been a minister

minister of the Roman Catholic Church, I should immediately have pronounced his absolution ; for, on our arrival at the Hospital they were taken out of the lake, fried, and served up in a clean dish of earthen ware, and Mr. Pocock, who was, if possible, more pleased than myself, declared he had never tasted any thing so delicious. But they must be eaten on the spot, or they lose much of their flavour, as indeed we experienced the same day ; for having carried some of them to the place where we dined, they seemed to be a different species of the trout. Having waited some time at the Hospital, we again went forward, and on the brow of the hill called the Great Cross, came within sight of Italy. From this place the descent into the vale of St. Nicholas is so rugged, that in some author I have seen it admirably compared to a winding and broken staircase. At the bottom we crossed a small brook, and entered Piedmont, of which we were soon made sensible by the change of language ; having dined at Novalesé, we got into the carriage

carriage put together again, and arrived about sun set at St. Ambrose.

Since our departure from Montmellian, my attention has been principally occupied in attempting to ascertain the route of Hannibal over the Alps. The historical account of this celebrated expedition is, that he marched from Carthagenā in Spain at the head of 100,000 men and 40 elephants: crossed the Pyrenees near the eastern extremity: traversed that part of Gaul which extends from these mountains to the banks of the Rhone near the Pont St. Esprit, over which river he transported his army, and routed the Gauls, who opposed him on his landing. Here finding that the Consul Publius Cornelius Scipio was at Marseilles; he was apprehensive that he would intercept him on his march, and by a battle diminish the number of his troops; he therefore led them northward up the Rhone, until he came to the spot where the Isere forms a junction with that river. At this place he turned off through the country of

the Allobroges, or modern Dauphiny; and arrived at the foot of the Alps. Having entered their deep vallies, he had to encounter not only the difficulties of the road, but the attacks of the fierce and savage people, who inhabited these hitherto impenetrated regions (as few will give credit to the fabulous march of Hercules.) However, these he overcame, and in nine days arrived at the summit of the mountains. But now still greater obstacles impeded his descent; over these, however, his genius and perseverance triumphed, so that he brought his army, though reduced to one fifth of their original number, into Piedmont, or that part of Italy which is watered by the Po, and began the campaign with the capture of Turin. Such are the principal circumstances recorded by Polybius, the friend and companion of Scipio Africanus the younger. He had conversed with officers, who had served against Hannibal, and had himself travelled for the purpose of reconnoitring his march. Nevertheless, I must suppose his passage to have been as Livy describes

describes it ; that is, more to the south ;— by Briançon to Fenestrelles, where he descended into Italy. My reasons for being of this opinion are these ; first, because if the remarkable anecdote be believed, that he raised the dejected spirit of his troops, by shewing them from the Alps the fruitful plains of Italy* ; there is only one part of all these mountains from which Piedmont, &c. can be seen by an army, which is near the Col de Fenestrelles ; and again, if he crossed the Durance, which seems to be the general opinion, he must, in coming from the mouth of the Isere, have taken this route ; for had he gone by Grenoble and Mount Cenis, he would have left the source of that river considerably to the right

* Per omnia nive oppleta, quàm signis primâ luce motis segnitèr agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu eminent. Prægressus signa Annibal in promontorio quodam, unde longè ac latè prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus, Italiam ostendit, subjectoque Alpinis montibus circum Padanos Campos; mæni-
aque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam urbis Romæ,

LIV. lib. 21. cap. 35.

hand, as you will perceive by examining a chart of the country. With regard to the story of his having cut through a precipice with fire and vinegar, it does not merit attention, not being mentioned by Polybius, and indeed undeserving of a place in the Decades of Livy. There are, who suppose he passed by the great St. Bernard, or *Alpes Peninae*,* which received their name from the Carthagenians or Pæni, but the last mentioned historian completely refutes this opinion. Not only then, but even now, this passage would be altogether impracticable for such cumbersome animals as elephants; and still farther, had he effected it, instead of taking Turin in his way to Rome, he would have left that city at a distance on the right. This opinion therefore is fundamentally erroneous.

Such, my dear Sir, is what I have been able to collect of the famous expedition of

* Penninus is a word of Celtic etymology. It means lofty. Pên, is in the Welsh language a head.

Hannibal

Hannibal over the Alps, and I hope the perusal of it may afford you some little amusement.

We set off early from St. Ambrose, and having travelled a few miles, got into a road that runs in almost one continued straight line to Turin, and shows one of the noblest avenues of trees imaginable, much beyond any thing of the kind in Flanders or Brabant, the land on each side being naturally fertile, and having, as I should suppose from its low situation, the advantage of being occasionally overflowed, is laid down in pasture; the vines are trained from one tree to another, as they are in Spain, and according to the ancient custom of Italy, *ulmis adjungere vites*. On our entrance into this charming country, I gazed on every object with an eye of affection; and indeed how should it be otherwise, since almost from my infancy I have been taught to admire it, for who can read the Roman authors without acquiring the strongest partiality for Italy? What friend

to patriotism, to magnanimity, to science, would not be enraptured at the first view of the land that has produced a nation so eminent for these? Every step we take is upon classic ground, and the farther we proceed, the more the objects of our regard multiply and please. To the lover of antiquity it is not the mere face of a country that makes it interesting, but the people who have possessed, or the authors who have described it; for believe me, I would sooner dwell a month in a cottage on the naked plain where Troy once stood, than inhabit the most picturesque part of Switzerland, or view the falls of the Niagara. But let me dismiss these reflections, which are, perhaps, a little too romantic, and tell you that we arrived at Turin, pleased with all we have seen, but infinitely more with the anticipation of all we shall see. What happiness there is in anticipation!

THIS

Turin, Sept. 24, 1787.

THIS noble city, which stands on the northern bank of the river Po, is perhaps, if taken all in all, the best built, best fortified, and the most uniform in Europe. Its form is oval, the streets are wide, and extend in straight lines from one end of it to the other. Through the middle of which the clear stream of the Doria is made to flow in little channels that keep them clean, and supply the inhabitants with good water. As I had never read any description of Turin, I was agreeably surpris'd on our arrival. The fronts of the houses in every street are similar to each other, being built of hewn stone, three stories high. The late king, who was what kings should be, the father of his country, began these improvements, and might be called the second founder; for so great is the alteration, that it would be impossible for any person, who had seen it before the new plan was

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executed,

executed, to know it in the present time. But although the appearance of the whole is particularly grand and striking, its uniformity soon tires the eye, which requires variety; and thus it is with numberless objects, whose beauties vanish with their novelty. Before I say any thing more of Turin, you will suffer me to observe, that it is by no means my intention to give you a regular and minute description of the public buildings; for if I judge of your taste by my own, I am sure it would be more tiresome than pleasing. Whatever I think interesting, you may be assured I shall not fail to mention; but on the dimensions of a column, or the mouldings of an architrave in modern building, I must beg leave to be silent. Whilst the venerable appearance of the royal palace makes it look like the great ancestor of the city, its heavy and ill proportioned structure stands as a memento of the rude and barbarous ages of Italy. It occupies one side of a square, called La Piazza Castello, and behind it are gardens, which, being sliced into a variety of squares, parallel-

parallelograms, and triangles, are by no means suited to the English taste. But the inside of the palace makes ample amends. It has a noble suite of rooms richly furnished, and hung with a fine collection of pictures of the Italian and Flemish schools; of the latter, one by Gerard Douw, the subject of which is a dropsical woman attended by her physician, her daughter, and maid-servant, is, I think, one of the most highly finished pictures I ever saw, perhaps too much so. It is considered as the most valuable of the collection, placed in the best light, and carefully shut up in a small cabinet, or case of (I believe) ebony. We here had a good opportunity of studying the manner and colouring of the different painters, whose productions were shewn to us; but this is a science that requires much time, and more discernment. However, we shall have leisure for improvement before we leave Italy. The same day we visited the citadel, deemed by military men the first thing of the kind existing; but as I am no judge of counterscarps, glacis, covered

vered ways, curtains, or bastions, you may be assured that I shall not attempt a description of it, but only say that it has a noble and formidable appearance. The foundations were laid in 1564, by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy ; but as fortification was little known at that early period, the citadel must have assumed quite a new form to be what it is at present. The great theatre, or, as it is here called, *Il Teatro regio*, is a much finer house than we have in London, being built on a plan very different and superior to that of our opera. It is lofty enough to admit six rows of boxes, which continue round the body of the house, there being no galleries to obstruct and deaden the music. The depth of the stage is, (as I am informed) 126 feet by 96—an immense allotment of space for theatrical exhibition. As this theatre is only used during the carnival, we saw it in the day-time, consequently to great disadvantage. The only one now open is that of Carignano, where we found an admirable comic opera—an entertainment to
which,

which, by the way, I think I shall be very partial, when better acquainted with Italian.*—The shew of company did not answer our expectations, but I find the boxes are seldom full, except on the first and second nights of performance, when the house is illuminated, and with the audience makes a very brilliant appearance. If I except some favourite airs, the opera is entirely disregarded by the parties in the boxes, who are engaged either at cards, or in conversation. In short, it is only a public manner to receive visits, except on the first or second representation, when the whole theatre is silent. This inattention is very natural, when we consider that the same opera is repeated successively for a month or six weeks. Among the private palaces we have seen (for you must know that every gentleman's house in Italy is called a

* It is fortunate for those, whose taste in Italian music, is superior to the influence of custom and opinion, and who are sufficiently at home in the language, as to relish the humour of an opera buffa, that this entertainment is through *fashion* so well supported in England.

palace)

palace) the most superb is that of the Marquis del Borgo ; I never beheld any thing so extravagantly magnificent : The furniture is of the richest materials, and the ceiling ornamented with garlands, festoons, and fancy work of bands and twist of enamelled gold. The apartments of the royal palace are mean in comparison of them. But what pleased us more was a cabinet of antique gems, the property of the Commandanté del Gialoufé. This gentleman, of whose politeness it is impossible to say too much, seemed happy in the opportunity of shewing us their exquisite beauties ; and I can truly affirm, that I am indebted to him for making me acquainted with a pleasure, to which I was before a stranger. We expected magnificent churches here, but have been much disappointed. However, we visited that of Superga, situate on a high hill, about four miles from Turin. Having gained the top with some difficulty, as the ascent is steep and rugged, we came rather suddenly on the church, which presented a handsome portico, and above it a dome or cupola

cupola flanked on each side by steeples. Within it is quite circular, and in all respects correspondent to the exterior beauty. We much admired its marble columns; they are of a colour between blue and grey, and exquisitely polished, but I think rather too low. Under the church is the royal vault: the magnificence of which, though striking, does not in any degree take from the solemnity; but the whole possesses an equal proportion of each, and is most awfully grand. In the center is the coffin of the late king, where it is to remain till replaced by that of his present majesty, at whose funeral it will be consigned to the tomb which now awaits it. These tombs are formed in the walls of the vault. But we were less pleased with Superga, than with the rich, the extensive, and varied prospect that it commands; we looked back with exulting pleasure on the Alps, those vast barriers that shut in Italy from the more northern countries of Europe, and divide not only the land, but climates. Below us was Turin, and eastward we beheld the plains of Lombardy,

bardy, as far as Milan; through which the fertilizing Po winds its long course, and rushes violently into the Adriatic. Thus Virgil:

Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus: quo non alius per pinguia culta,
In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis.*

During the siege of Turin in 1706, Victor Amadæus ascended this hill to reconnoitre the position of the enemy; and then made a vow to erect a church on it, if they did not succeed in their enterprise against the city; in consequence therefore of the victory gained by prince Eugene, and the total overthrow of the French army, he built Superga nine years after. The expence of it must have been considerably increased by the labour in conveying the materials to the site, which even now, though much better than at that time, is most difficult of

Imitated.

* Bull-fac'd Eridanus with gilded horns,
Than which no stream runs through the fruitful lea,
With swifter current to the purple sea.

access,

access. Another excursion which we made in the vicinity of Turin, was to the royal palace of La Venerie, the most noble of the king's country residences; but I cannot say that I much admire it. The situation is low and flat: the buildings (if I except the chapel) heavy and irregular: the apartments gloomy: the furniture crowded and ill arranged: and, finally, the gardens (so much admired in this country) are laid out in the French manner, consequently tasteless and unnatural. There are three rooms in the palace that particularly engaged our attention, as they were hung, or, I would rather say, wainscoted with pictures of the crowned heads of England, the German empire, and Savoy—all in my opinion very ill done. You know how nearly allied the Sardinian blood royal is to the Stuart family. About two miles from La Venerie is a large elm, held in universal veneration, and I leave you to judge how much more deservedly so, than the oak that afforded an asylum to our weak and worthless monarch Charles II. when I inform you that under
this

this elm, Victor Amadæus, duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, and two other generals (I believe the prince of Anhalt, and the marquis de Prie) held a council of war, and came to the resolution of attacking the French army then before Turin. This happened on the 5th of September, 1706. On the 7th they forced the enemy's lines, and gained a most decisive victory, which not only raised the siege of the capital, but reinstated the duke in all his dominions, and ruined the French interest in Italy.

Two days after our arrival at Turin, we delivered our letters from Lord Caermarthen to Mr. Jackson, Charge d'Affaires in the absence of Mr. Trevor, the British minister; in consequence of which, after certain indispensable preliminaries, such as a visit to the prime minister, and leaving our cards with all the *corps diplomatique*, we were presented by M. de Choisseul Praslin, the French ambassador (as the etiquette of the court will not admit of this ceremony being performed by any one who is not pleni-

plenipotentiary) to the king and royal family at Montcalier, a palace on the banks of the Po, about four miles from Turin. We were received by each in separate apartments ; the first was the duke of Chablais, the king's brother ; from him we went to the two youngest princes, the dukes of Aöste and Montferrat ; then to the princess of Piedmont ; to her consort the prince ; and, finally, to his majesty. The time we remained with each was but short, for after a few general questions they bowed, and we retired. The king, who is in the sixty-second year of his age, is much more personable than either of his sons ; he conversed in French, observing, among other things, that the English, like birds of passage, appeared in Italy all at a certain season. The prince of Piedmont is an invalid, if I may judge by his appearance. He kept us longer than either of them, and spoke in high terms of England, mentioning the obligations of his family to it. His Consort is a Bourbon, sister to Louis the XVth. It happened to be her birth-day, and in



consequence of it the Court was full and brilliant. All military officers, as in England, appear at it in their uniforms; at Versailles it is quite the reverse. After the form of presenting had ended, there was a levee, at which the king and princes conversed, I think, with every individual in the circle; an act of no small difficulty, as the majority were foreigners. Having thus gone through all the ceremonies of this court, which has been long esteemed one of the politest in the world, we returned to Turin, dined with the French ambassador, a gentleman every way qualified for his high situation, and finished the evening in a conversazione at the Spanish ambassador's, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Jackson. Of these conversazioni I will write you some future description when I know more of them. We yesterday went a few miles from Turin to see the king review a regiment of dragoons lately come from Savoy. He was attended by his three sons and brother, the duke of Chablais, besides many of the foreign ministers and noblesse
of

of his court. About ten o'clock they all appeared in the field, on which were three tents pitched for their reception. The king seemed much pleased with the military appearance of the cavalry, which, as far as I can judge, well deserved his approbation. During the evolutions one of the troopers was thrown off his horse, and I could not but with pleasure mark the sovereign's compassion, who, on seeing the accident, immediately dispatched an aid de camp to his assistance; and finding that the poor fellow was much bruised, ordered him to be carried in a litter to the hospital, and all care to be taken of him.

Humanity is a virtue of so much lustre, that we are enamoured of it in whatever aspect it assumes; but in monarchs it appears to double advantage, they being less exposed to calamity, are consequently less able to judge of the misery of others by their own misfortunes.

LETTER XI.

Turin, Sept. 28, 1787.

ON looking into my journal, I find the subjects of my two last letters were our passage over the Alps, and a description of Turin and its environs. By the same journal I perceive also, that I have a good deal to crowd into this; I must therefore be as concise as possible, and to begin, shall say something more than what I have said of the dominions of his present majesty, Victor Amadæus the III^d. They consist of Sardinia, Piedmont, Savoy, Montferrat, and part of the Milanese. Never was a sovereign in possession of two countries more different from each other than Savoy and Piedmont; the former is a wild tract of mountain and hollow vallies, which require every aid that art and labour can bestow to make the produce adequate to the consumption, though no people can be more frugal

frugal than its inhabitants; frugal indeed, in consequence of their poverty. The sides of these mountains are in many places so very steep, as to be inaccessible to beasts of draught or burden, and the plough is there an useless instrument of agriculture; the peasants break up the hungry soil with the pickaxe and spade; and, to improve it, carry up mould and dung in baskets. For the purpose of preserving it from drought in the spring and summer, they cut small reservoirs above it, the water of which may be let out at will; and, to prevent the earth from giving way, break the declivity of the mountains by building walls on the side for its support, which frequently assume the appearance of ancient fortification, and are a very pleasing deception to travellers. The Savoyards carry their better sort of cheese into Piedmont, as the flavour is much esteemed there; but they gain more by the skins of bears, chamois, and bouquetins (a species of the wild goat) or by the sale of grouse and pheasants, which they carry in great numbers to Turin.

Piedmont is part of the plains of Lombardy, which extending from the north-west boundaries of Italy to the Lagune of Venice, constitute one of the most fertile and valuable parts of Europe. A quotation in my last letter from Virgil will shew you how highly it was thought of in the Augustan age. It abounds in fruits and grain of almost every kind in our quarter of the world, and its pastures are as rich as those of Holland. Novara is celebrated for its fine rice, Millefiori for his majesty's tobacco plantations, whilst the vineyards, in every part of Piedmont, produce a sweet red wine of an excellent quality. But what the owners of land most encourage is the feeding of cattle, and culture of the mulberry tree for silk worms; of the former they send annually to foreign markets from ninety to a hundred thousand head, besides a great number of hogs and mules. The last of these animals are very fine in this country, as I have before observed; but the inhabitants have other beasts, or rather *monsters*, which they find very serviceable, though

though vicious and obstinate. These are produced by a cow and an ass, or mare and bull, and called Jumarres or Gimerri; I cannot say that I have ever seen any of them, but I am told they are very common. The silk worm thrives so well, that many peasants make above 100lbs. of silk annually; and it is not only abundant, but universally known to be stronger and finer than any in Italy.* The land-owners divide the profit with their tenants. The duchy of Savoy and principality of Piedmont are, I find, more populous than I thought they were; by the last returns, the number is found to amount to 2,695,727 souls, of which Turin contains about 77,000.

I might almost say, that the authority of his Sardinian majesty is as absolute as his will, being neither controlled by parlia-

* Each pound is valued in Piedmont at 18 shillings, the little village of La Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, makes above 50,000lb. annually, and the exports every year to the single city of Lyons amount to more than 160,000l.

ments, nor conditions of government. The succession to the throne is determined by the salique law, so that females are excluded. He is marquis of Italy, and a prince of the empire, at the diet of which he has a seat. During a vacancy in the imperial throne, he is grand vicar for the empire in Italy, and chief of the two orders of the Annunciada and St. Lazarus. His great council is composed of eight ministers of state, among whom are the viceroy of Sardinia, his ambassador at Rome, and two secretaries of state. The principal officers of his court are a great almoner, a high chamberlain, three gentlemen of the bed-chamber in the first order, a grand master of the ceremonies, another of the household, a principal maggiorduomo, an honorary keeper of the wardrobe, and master of the stag hounds, all whose salaries would be thought little in comparison of what, as Mr. Burke facetiously called them, the king's turnspits received in England.

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The public administration of justice is entrusted to certain provôts and intendants nominated by his majesty, who judge in the first instance. Appeals from their determinations are carried before the senates, of which there are three, at Turin, Chamberry, and Nice; the first is composed of three presidents, and twenty-one senators; the second of two presidents, and ten counsellors; and the third of one president, and six counsellors. The law, though changed in many instances by the king's ordinances, is founded on the Roman code, or pandects of Justinian. With regard to the finances, I learn that they are administered by the grand chamber of accounts, established since 1563 at Chamberry by Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, which is composed of two presidents, six counsellors, the same number of auditors, two secretaries, and an attorney general.

As a proof how much the Pope's influence is diminished, I must observe that no bull, brief, or papal letter, can be published
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in the dominions of his Sardinian majesty without his permission ; his ambassador at the court of Rome, is generally a cardinal, and it is the king who presents to all vacant benefices within his territories, deducting one third of their revenues for his pensions. All these benefices are subject to taxes, except the ancient patrimony of the church, or such property as the clergy possessed before the year 1600 ; but even this in time of war contributes the twentieth part of its income, which certainly is much too little. All causes, in which ecclesiastics are concerned, are determined by secular judges ; and finally, to destroy that power by which the clergy so frequently made the interest of religion a pretext for the gratification of their vengeance, the king put himself at the head of the inquisition, so that no person can be seized, but by his order.

In conformity to the general system of Europe, and to defend his territories from the incroachments of his neighbours, his Sardinian majesty keeps up an army of

40,000

40,000 men, viz. four regiments of body guards, twenty-two of infantry, ten of cavalry, and twelve of militia or provincials. Among these troops are also some Swiss regiments. The marine is so inconsiderable, as to be unworthy of attention, being composed only of two frigates, and as many galleys, out of commission. The royal revenues amount to 1,041,666*l*. They are principally made up by a land-tax, poll-tax, tax on cattle, gabelle or duty on salt and tobacco, of which I believe each family is obliged, as in France, to take annually a certain quantity; another on stamped paper, on inns, butchers meat, leather, candles, gunpowder, and a tax on Jews.

I readily subscribe to the opinion contained in your last letter, that a traveller should not be unacquainted with the revolutions and memorable events of the countries he visits; and to prove the sincerity of this assertion, I shall conclude this with an abridgement of the history of Savoy and Piedmont, more especially as from reading it

it I am led to believe, that there is no where to be found a stronger instance of what a wise and prudent succession of princes can do in raising a small territory into a powerful state, than what the former presents in its first counts and dukes.

Berthold, of the illustrious House of Saxony, was in the year 1000 made count of Savoy and Maurienne by Rodolph the III^d, king of Burgundy, in recompence for the military service he had rendered him; and from this nobleman is descended the present sovereign of Sardinia, who may reflect with satisfaction, that the dominions he has inherited from his ancestors are not the acquisitions of blood and conquest, which, however warranted by custom, must to the philosophic eye appear no better than public robbery supported by power. Through purchase, marriage, and succession, the territories of the counts of Savoy became considerable. Otho, the grandson of Berthold, united Piedmont to his paternal inheritance; but these countries were again divided by Thomas the Ist. between

between his two eldest sons. Amadæus the IVth, who succeeded to Savoy, having espoused the interest of the Gibbelins against the Guelfs, was recompensed by the Emperor, Frederic the II^d; who, in 1246, erected Chablais and Aôste into a duchy, by which the ducal dignity entered into the House of Savoy. For the four first centuries it may be said, that there were few princes of the race of Berthhold that did not add to their dominions; but far greater than any of his predecessors was Amadæus the VIth, or the Green Count, so called from his appearing with all his retinue at a tournament in Chamberry cloathed in that colour. These appellations, which seem to have been the prevailing fashion of those rude times, arose from the most trivial circumstances, and were lavished on many, whose virtues entitled them to more honourable distinctions; such as Edward the *black* Prince, and Amadæus the VIth, who was certainly one of the most illustrious of his family; for during a reign of forty years he supported the character of a wise prince, and an able commander, while fortune, as the

the reward of his merit, proved favourable to whatever he attempted.

Having established his reputation so much at home, as to make his alliance and mediation sought by the emperor and all the Italian states, he carried his arms into the east, delivered John Palæologus the Ist from the captivity of the Bulgarian king, and replaced him on the imperial throne of Constantinople. He succoured the Island of Rhodes, routed the Turk in a great battle, and to make memorable the victory, in 1362 established the order of Annunciada in honour of it. He was also the founder of many convents.—You will probably laugh at this remark, but surely must allow, that although to this enlightened age such an act will appear the least beneficial of his life, it displayed a piety, which, however ill-directed, was the result of a grateful and laudable intention. He died of the plague at Capua in 1383, whither he had carried his veteran army to assist Louis of Anjou in the conquest of Naples. The character of

of Amadæus the VIIIth seems to be held in as much esteem as that of the last mentioned duke. In his reign Piedmont, for want of issue from its own princes, was re-annexed to the duchy of Savoy. After a series of good and useful actions, he resigned his dominions to his son Lewis in 1434, exchanging his diadem for the monastic habit and profession; but he again appeared to the world in a character as singular as unexpected. In 1439 the council of Basil, deposing Eugenius the IVth, chose Amadæus as the most proper person to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter, which nothing could persuade him to accept, but a belief that his acquiescence in the choice of the council would put an end to the schism of the church; in this however he was mistaken, for during nine years after his election the papacy was continually disputed; when, at length, worn out with opposition, and desirous of repose, he again retired to the convent, which he had first chosen for his asylum, where he survived his abdication of the papacy only two years. Savoy, and the

the other ducal dominions, which had hitherto been governed by princes who exerted themselves for the welfare of their subjects, fell into anarchy and weakness from the succession of Philibert, the infant son of Amadæus the IXth, and the distraction occasioned by the various pretensions to the regency, there being no less than six competitors, most of whom consulted only their own interest in the claim, but happily the death of the young prince put an end to the disturbances; for he being succeeded by his younger brother Charles the Ist, who was consequently a minor, his uncle Lewis the XIth, King of France, assumed the regency as it were by force, and dying in the following year, Charles, though but fifteen, took upon himself the management of his own affairs, and was found every way deserving of it. At nineteen the kingdom of Cyprus was given to him by Charlotte, daughter of John the IId, king of that island, as next heir in right of his grandmother Anne, John's sister. Charlotte, being deposed by her natural brother James,

James, and unable to recover possession, though powerfully supported, retired to Rome, where she made this donation to Charles; but the island being seized by the Venetians, as heirs to Catherine Cornaro, relict of the usurper, Charles and his descendants saw the futility of putting in a claim, which, from their want of naval force, could not possibly be supported; so that this gift has been productive to the House of Savoy of nothing more than useless pretensions to the thrones of Cyprus and Jerusalem, with a royal title and additional quarter to their arms; happily so, for could this prince and his successors have supported their rights, they would have sacrificed many thousands of their subjects in gratifying their ambition; nor can I but condemn the continuance of such claims, which for the most part are but a satire on the injustice of former times, and the vanity of the present.

During the invasions of Italy by the French Kings Charles the VIIIth, Lewis

the XIIth, and Francis the Ist, the Dukes of Savoy generally espoused the stronger party, and by so doing prevented their country from being exposed to the ravages of war; but, as I have observed in a former letter, their attempts on the little republic of Geneva were always fruitless, and frequently followed by unsuccessful war, particularly in the reign of Charles the IIIrd, who, on that account, drew upon himself more enemies than he could resist, but principally Francis the Ist, and the canton of Berne; the former had won the greater part of Piedmont, and the latter the Pays de Vaud. In this unfortunate situation Montfort, governor of Nice, displayed an example of valour and fidelity, that was calculated to raise the drooping spirits of his countrymen under the calamities which oppressed them. The Duc d'Enguien, commander of the French forces, with his ally Horuc Barbarossa, the Turkish admiral, disembarked their armies at Villa Franca, a small distance from Nice, and commanded the surrender of the city. The governor, having

having heard the herald, replied: "Qu'on
 " s'étoit mal adressé à lui pour rendre la
 " place, parce qu'en son nom il s'appelloit
 " Montfort, qu'en ses armes il portoit des
 " pals, et que sa devise étoit: *Il me faut*
 " *tenir*; & qu'il ne falloit attendre qu'une
 " vigoureuse défense."*

Barbarossa, whose haughty temper was little calculated to admire virtue in an enemy and a Christian, became indignant at this gallant answer, and invested the city on the 10th day of August, 1543. He battered it till the 22d, when a general assault was given. In this, however he was repulsed with loss; but the heroic Montfort, finding that he could not maintain the place against such superior force, abandoned the city for the castle, which he had previously stored with ammunition and provisions. There, he was invincible; for after many

* "That he had ill addressed himself to him, for his name was Montfort, in his arms he bore balls, and that his motto was: *I must hold out*; and that he might therefore expect an obstinate defence."

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desperate

desperate attempts, the besiegers considerably reduced by the successful sallies of the garrison, and fearful of its being reinforced, gave up the attempt, after the loss of much time, and many thousands of their best troops.

Emanuel Philibert, who succeeded Charles the III^d. in 1553, warmly espoused the side his father had taken, and engaged personally in the war against France; for, being nursed as it were in arms, he possessed a thorough knowledge of the tactics of those times, and all the valour of his ancestors. In the famous battles of St. Quintin and Gravelines, between Philip and Henry, the successors of Charles the Vth and Francis the Ist, Emanuel Philibert very much contributed by his personal achievement to the victory; it was after the former of these, that Philip, whose hands the duke would have kissed in compliment of his success, hastily prevented him, exclaiming with more generosity than I ever thought that monarch possessed: “It is rather my
“ duty

“ duty to kiss your hands, who have gained
“ for me so glorious a victory at the ex-
“ pence of so little blood.” Though France
was very unwilling to restore all the places
that had been taken by Francis the Ist from
the late duke, yet it finally took place, and
a treaty to that purpose was signed at Turin
on the 14th of December, 1574.

Philibert is remarkable also for his pre-
tensions to the crown of Portugal, vacant
by the death of Henry the Cardinal in 1380;
but in these he had no greater success than
his predecessor Charles the Ist had in those
to Cyprus. He was succeeded by Charles
Emanuel, who seems to have inherited the
enterprising spirit of his forefathers without
their virtues; covetous of dominion, and
regardless of the means by which he ac-
quired it, he took advantage of the civil
commotions in France, and seized Pro-
vence; but for this act of injustice he was
severely chastised by Henry the IVth, who
reduced him to the situation of suing in per-
son for part of his conquered territories,

Finding that he was not likely to succeed against a monarch of Henry's heroic temper (who, as I have seen it well observed, was supported by his rights, his virtue, his sword, and Sully) he attempted to surprise the city of Geneva by night, in doing which he only increased the infamy of his character; but you have already had a description of this attempt in a letter from that city. After a long life of political intrigue and perfidy, he died of an apoplexy on the 26th of July, 1630.

From this time to the reign of Lewis the XIVth, Savoy occasionally took part with France or Spain, as most conducive to its interest. In 1653, the advantage was so much on the side of France, that Charles Emanuel the II^d thought of allying himself to that court, and consequently went accompanied by his duchess, his mother, and the princess Margaret his sister, to meet Lewis the XIVth at Lyons, between whom and his sister he was desirous of effecting a marriage, which would probably have succeeded

ceeded to his wishes, had not Spain, fearful of the event, proposed at the same time the Infanta Maria Theresa, and peace between the two kingdoms, as the ratification of such alliance. This offer, through the intrigue of Cardinal Mazarin, was preferred, which broke off all connection between France and Savoy, and induced the latter to unite itself to the enemies of the former.

The first opportunity that offered was in 1690, when Victor Amadæus the II^d. acceded to the grand league that was formed by almost all the powers of Europe to check the inordinate ambition of Lewis the XVIth; but this junction, which had so promising an appearance, was near producing the most fatal event. Catinat, the French general, stript the duke of almost all his dominions in two campaigns, and would have completed his ruin, had not Lewis, who deemed the expences of the war much greater than the advantages that would result from it, ordered Catinat to act only on the defensive, and in the mean

time, for the purpose of detaching Victor from the alliance, proposed terms of accommodation more suited to the condition of a conqueror, than to that of the vanquished. These were immediately accepted, and a treaty of peace signed at Turin on the 29th of August, 1696. It continued, however, but a short time; for the famous war of succession breaking out at the beginning of this century, Savoy became a party concerned. The duke was, at first, obliged to fight for the execution of the king of Spain's will, and unite his arms to those of Lewis the XIVth. Four years before this, he had found himself almost dispossessed of his dominions by the rapid success of the French arms; and should he now have espoused the opposite cause, he was more likely to be so than before, as Lewis had filled the Milanese with his troops. However, his interest as well as inclination soon induced him to join the imperial army under Count Stharemburg, who commanded in Italy during the absence of Prince Eugene, and then he declared

clared war against Lewis, but the French generals acted with such vigour, that he soon found himself dispossessed of all his territories, except the two cities of Turin and Coni, the former of which they had invested, and were on the point of taking, though gallantly defended. In this hopeless situation Victor began to despair; when, unexpectedly the allies, who were every where victorious, sent a powerful army to his relief under Prince Eugene. This great man triumphed over all the obstacles that were thrown in his way by the Duc de Vendome, and arrived near Turin in August, 1706, where he forced the enemies lines, gained a complete victory, and in consequence saved Victor Amadæus from what a few days before seemed inevitable ruin. At the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, his fidelity and perseverance were amply rewarded by England, whose ministers insisted, that the House of Savoy should be acknowledged as next in succession to the crown of Spain, in default of issue from Philip, and by way of indemnification for
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the expence which the duke had incurred during the war, the island of Sicily should be ceded to him with the title of King. In 1720, he was compelled to exchange Sicily for Sardinia with the Emperor, and from this island we find he has assumed the present title. Victor, at length tired with a long reign of fifty years, and desirous of repose, resigned the throne to his son Charles Emanuel the III^d. in 1730, and retired to Chamberry, where he published his marriage with the countess of St. Sebastian, daughter of the marquis de St. Thomas, one of his former prime ministers, and relict of his first equerry the count of that name. It is supposed that his abdication was an act of policy, to avoid the resentment of the Emperor, which was excited by his having privately concerted measures with Spain for the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Parma and Tuscany; be that as it may, certain it is, that he attempted to reassume the regal dignity the year after his resignation of it, but was prevented by his son. He died at Montcallier, the 31st of
of

of October, 1732. In consequence of a treaty of alliance at Worms, on the 13th of September, 1743, Savoy was again engaged in a war against France and Spain, to support the inheritance of the late Empress Queen, Maria Theresa; Charles Emanuel, the late King, proved himself every way worthy of his illustrious progenitors. He commanded his own armies in person, and displayed the talents of an able general, the valour of an hero, and what is much more rare, a mind superior to corruption; for his enemies, eager to detach him from the Imperial alliance, offered him the Milanese as the reward of his revolt. This he rejected with all the indignation of insulted virtue, for the only answer he ordered his minister to make to the proposal, was to inform the Count de Maillebois, sent to conclude this business, that he might return to his army, as the campaign had already begun two days. This noble action found its recompence in his subsequent triumph over the French and Spanish armies, and at the peace of Aix la Chapelle,

pelle, in 1748, by which he received all that had been ceded to him by the empress queen in the treaty of Worms, except the marquifate of Final, which, as it before belonged to, was bestowed on the republic of Genoa.

Such is an epitome of the most interesting events recorded in the history of these countries. You receive it in consequence of my early return last night from the Spanish ambassador's conversazione, and my rising this morning full two hours sooner than usual.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

Genoa, Oct. 4., 1787.

THOUGH highly entertained at Turin, both of us were completely tired before we left it ; which I can attribute only to the uniform appearance of the place, and its unvaried repetition of amusements. We travelled through a dead flat, than which nothing can be more uninteresting, as the objects of sight are confined to the hedges on each side, and to the horses before us ; the latter of which generally present a spectacle of the most unpleasing nature, especially if we heighten it by reflection ; for what existence is more wretched than that of a post-horse, kept up from fainting, under excess of labour, by the continual torture of an unthinking and merciless postillion ? Having reached the Tanaro, we continued our journey on the banks of that river to Alleffandria, a town that has
nothing

nothing in it deserving of attention, but the citadel, which is much admired by military men. We departed early the next morning, very dissatisfied with our landlord, who had made a most exorbitant demand upon us, that is, about six times more than what he would have charged a noble Piedmontese, and all the cargo of his coach, or family and servants: but indeed we should only blame ourselves for this imposition, as we neglected to make a previous bargain for supper and beds—a precaution universally taken in France and Italy. About mid-day we arrived at Novi, the frontier town of the republic of Genoa; and, on leaving it, found the country both hilly and naked. A few miles farther we began the ascent of the Apennines, and gained the summit at a point called the Bochetta, whence we had a view of the same kind, but superior to that from the Vise near Marseilles.* Below us lay that part of Italy which was the ancient Liguria washed by the Tuscan

* This alludes to a former Letter not published.

sea ;

sea; on the shore of which we viewed the distant city of Genoa, and its environs. Our road from the village of Campo Marone, at the bottom of these hills, lay along the broad channel of the Polcevera, which, though generally dry, is sometimes overflowed by a deluge that rushes from the Apennines, laying waste or sweeping away whatever lies within its reach. The entrance into Genoa by the suburb of San Pietro d'Arena is most magnificent. The city is built in form of a crescent round its beautiful port, and as we came suddenly to one horn or extremity, we beheld the most striking scene of the kind that can be imagined. There being a regular ascent from the water, we caught this noble amphitheatre of buildings at one glance. Within the mole are the merchant ships, and farther out in the port, a small fleet of Dutch and Neapolitan men of war, which added very much to the grandeur and majesty of the whole. We were so pleased, that we both at the same instant expressed our surprise and admiration on our unexpected arrival at this point of view.

Genoa

Genoa may be called a city of marble palaces; but, unfortunately it stands on such a confined slip of land, between the sea and the mountain behind it, that these noble edifices press upon one another. Add to this, the streets are so narrow, as to prevent the passenger from seeing their style of architecture to advantage. The two principal are La Strada Nuova, and La Strada Balbi; the first consists of fourteen superb palaces, that contain a profusion of marbles, and a fine collection of paintings, among which are many most admirable pieces of Titian, the Caracci, and Guido R  n  ; but I was not quite satisfied, as I did not see a single picture of Raphael, with whom I long to be better acquainted. In the Sara Palace is an apartment even superior to any of those we saw in the Marquis del Borgo's at Turin; the carving, gilding, and painted ceiling: its inlaid floor, glasses, marbles, damask hangings; and, to crown all, the view over part of Genoa, the port, and the Mediterranean, make it an object of general admiration; not but I think had the materials

rials been collected in London, they would have been arranged with more taste. The Doge's palace, or, as the Genoese call it, La Signoria, is an extensive building. The ascent to it is by a large stone stair-case, at the bottom of which are two marble statues of the famous Andrew Doria and his nephew; the former hath this inscription;

Andræ Doriæ, quòd rempublicam diu-
tius oppressam, pristinam in libertatem
vindicationem, Patri proinde Patriæ ap-
pellato, Senatus Genuensis, im-
mortalis memor beneficii, vi-
venti posuit.*

On the other is :

Jo. Doriæ, patriæ libertatis conservatori.†

* In honour of Andrew Doria, because he hath restored to its ancient liberty the republic long oppressed, whence he is called the Father of his Country. The Senate of Genoa, mindful of the immortal benefit, hath erected this statue to him when alive.

† To John Doria, the protector of his country's liberty.

We waited some time the adjournment of the lesser council, when we saw the Doge cloathed in his crimfon robes, and afterwards the two State Chambers, in which the public bufinefs is tranfacted. Thefe apartments are ornamented with feven ftatues of illuftrious Genoefe, and paintings that represent fome of the moft memorable events contained in the hiftory of the republic ; but I cannot fay that I admired either the one or the other. The churches are magnificent, and poffefs fome capital paintings : that of the Annunciada, in my opinion, ftands firft, both for its architecture and ornament. After it the *Santa Maria Carignano*, built by the family, whose name it bears, on the moft elevated part of this noble city. From the top we had a bird's eye view of Genoa, &c. and on defcending examined the church, where a ftatue of St. Sebastian, by Puget, principally engaged our attention. This ftatue, the production of a French artift, is one of the beft in Genoa, which very much excites my aftonifhment, as no nation has had
more

more opportunities of enriching itself with Grecian sculpture than the Genoese; but I suspect, that whatever they acquired, their avarice converted into money, as the whole city cannot boast of one ancient statue that has any merit. In going to this church, we passed over the celebrated bridge built by the same family, and distinguished by the same name; it crosses a narrow valley 140 feet deep, which runs through the city to the sea. On looking over the parapets, we saw houses below us at least five stories high. The bridge Carignano is certainly one of the most curious objects of regard in Genoa, as well for its singularity of situation, as for the merit of its architecture; but our time was better employed at a building, that reflects greater honour on the Genoese, than the endowment of all their monasteries and churches. This is the Albergo, erected for the truly charitable purpose of bringing up foundlings, orphans, natural children, and the offspring of such parents as are unable to educate their families as honest and useful members

of society. It is also used as a place of confinement and labour for women of ill fame, and for wives whose husbands have complained to the inquisition of their incontinence ; it affords a comfortable asylum to the old and indigent, who are no longer able to support themselves by labour ; and food and lodging to the pilgrim. All the inhabitants (amounting to more than a thousand) are kept in separate divisions ; the men upon one side, and the women on the other. It is supported by legacies, which amount to a very considerable sum.

At the head of this admirable institution are two noble Genoese—a lady and gentleman, for their respective sexes. I was so pleased with the Albergo, which is the best house of the kind that has fallen in our way, that I got every possible information relative to its inspectors, inferior officers, government, manual labour, provisions, &c. &c. for which I refer you to my journal on my return to England. In regard to the building, it is well planned for its purpose.

purpose. The chapel too we visited, where we found the best piece of sculpture in Genoa, a bas relief, by that extravagant and universal genius Michael Angelo Buonarotti; the subject is a dead Christ and Virgin who weeps over him; though I think it uncommonly fine, yet it comes not up to my ideas of the Grecian school; but I dare say no more on this subject till I reach Florence. How changed, how fallen, is the arsenal from its former condition, when Genoa furnished so many potentates of Europe with fleets, and by its naval strength so long kept possession of one of the divisions of Constantinople! The whole of its maritime *force*, if I might use the expression, is now confined to four rotten gallies, which serve as prisons to the galley slaves. These men consist of Mahometan captives, Genoese assassins, and robbers, who, like those of Toulon, are, with some few exceptions, chained together in pairs. On entering the arsenal we walked along a range of sheds or small shops, where some of the slaves are permitted for money

to sell different articles to the rest, as bread, soup, meats, &c. while others have the liberty of ranging the town to dispose of flippers, purses, &c. but these I believe are always Turks. I was astonished at the little order kept among them by the overseers, for the uproar was general and excessive. One thing I had almost omitted mentioning to you, and that is the Roman prow or iron rostrum which is put up over the door of the arsenal, *perhaps the only one existing*, and therefore an object of curiosity; it was found in cleaning the port, where it had probably lain a long time, as it is now nearly consumed with age: its form is that of a *boar's head*, or some such animal.

Having done with this place (the arsenal) which I think invites no second visit, we took oars, and rowed out to sea, for the purpose of seeing Genoa to the greatest advantage; and indeed this view of it is magnificent, comprehending the city, the surrounding hills, and the numerous villas that occupy every part of them.

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These are the objects which have principally engaged our attention at this place, and as they appeared to me, so have I described them to you.

The Genoese are said to inherit the character of their Ligurian ancestors; but I rather think, if they retain any part of it, it is the worst, as they certainly are the most turbulent, most superstitious, most vindictive, and most mercenary race in all Italy. Of the first charge the history of their country affords a variety of instances; of the second and third the frequency of religious processions and assassinations. To prove the last, I need only relate a circumstance that would be incredible, if it were not sufficiently vouched by the testimony of all travellers who have visited Genoa; and that is, their voluntary servitude on board the galleys after the term of their sentence is elapsed. Examples of this are very frequent, the contract is generally for twelve months, and the price of their liberty eighteen shillings in Genoese money.

I am really at a loss to account for such depravity, but my surprize yields to my indignation, not so much against the wretched slaves, as against the more wretched government that permits and encourages so infamous a compact. Though the condition of the galley slaves be better here than in France, nevertheless it is so bad, that were I not assured of the fact, I never had given it credit; chained one to another, exposed to all weather on board the gallies, subject to arbitrary and severe correction, ill cloathed, worse fed, and finally eat up by disease and vermin; who would have imagined it possible? but so it is; and such is the imbecility, the infatuation, the misery of human nature at Genoa.

The character of the nobles too has a leading feature in it, that is seldom found in other countries. They affect a superiority to those prejudices, which so frequently and so foolishly exist against commerce; yet this mask of wisdom is only the result
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of avarice, as no race of men is prouder and more ignorant. But the commerce carried on by the noble Genoese, is that of money, or in other words usury, as they supply the needy of France and Italy with sums at the most exorbitant interest. They are in possession of this money from the exercise of the most rigid parsimony in domestic life; for instead of using the noble palaces, which they owe to the ostentation of their ancestors, they inhabit only the attic stories; fathers, uncles, brothers, with all their female relatives and servants, are stowed in different apartments, and their tables, instead of being served in a style adequate to their opulence, are (as I am well informed) most pitifully supplied. In the article of dress, as they always wear black, they incur but little expence; and for hospitality, it is a virtue unknown to them, even among each other. Their general amusement is *conversazioni*, where they entertain themselves at cards, and are refreshed with coffee, lemonade, and biscuits. The women are pretty, but their sable dress, and manner

ner of wrapping up their heads in a veil called *Il Messero*, are in my opinion very unbecoming. Their whole time is taken up in play, intrigue, and the observance of church ceremony. They never appear from home either *with* their husbands, or *without* their *Cecisbèi*, the latter of whom are always the objects of their choice, and often the fathers of their children. From the general imputation which the Genoese lie under of ignorance, I am not at all surprised to find no university here; but from that partiality to music, which they entertain in common with all the Italians, I did not expect to see so vile a theatre. The singers were what I should have been out of humour with, even at Novi, and the band was still more despicable: this is the consequence of their parsimony, as the managers, from the little encouragement they receive, are not able to employ the best voices and music.

Commerce at Genoa is reduced to its lowest ebb, having declined in proportion
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to its rise at Leghorn. Few of these noble usurers would risk a cargo in a vessel of their own state, as they know how entirely their flag is unprotected, and therefore make use of British bottoms as their best security. In these they export their velvets, silk, oil, dried mushrooms (which are famous) wines, Parmesan cheese, and Carrara marbles. Their imports are various, English cloth is a considerable article, their chief trade however is with Spain. But that on which the existence of this republic as an independent state, as well as the properties of many of its citizens have long rested, is the celebrated *Bank of St. George*, established since the commencement of the fifteenth century. It is less dependent on government, than government is on it, being managed exclusively by its own laws, and separate directors; its capital is immense, its credit universal, and the security as firm as the defenceless condition of Genoa will admit. In 1746 it supported the republic in its distress, by advancing 750,000*l*. the whole of which (as I am informed) has
been

been liquidated. The interest it gives for money is two and a half per cent.

I shall conclude this letter with an anecdote related to me by a French gentleman who resides here, which will give you a much better representation of the national character, than any thing I could otherwise write upon the subject.

Some months ago two Venetians (whose countrymen and the Genoese still keep up that inveterate hatred to each other, which distinguished their ancestors) were present at an *Osteria*, or wine house, where the conversation of the company arose, not as it would in England, on politics or pleasure, but upon the merits of St. John, the Protector of Genoa, who, it was asserted, had worked innumerable miracles, and was the greatest of all saints. If nature be so much the parent of patriotism, as to create in us an affection for those minuter objects in our native land, which the citizen of the world would regard with an eye of indifference,

ference, how much more powerfully must she operate on our passions, when we remember that, on which the prosperity of our country is supposed to depend? The two Venetians were precisely in this predicament. They probably knew as little of St. John, as they did of St. Denis; but St. Mark was the guardian of Venice, and consequently their all in all. Resolved therefore to maintain his honour in opposition to this provoking eulogium of the Genoese on their patron, one of them observed, that the bones of his saint had worked more miracles, *particularly in healing diseases*, than all the apostles and saints; that in heaven he was next in rank to the Virgin and popes, and as much superior to their St. John, as the patriarch of Venice was to the archbishop of Genoa. To prevent any reply to this, he and his friend left the room, but were soon followed by one of the company, who had the honour of bearing the great cross of a religious order in their church processions. This desperate enthusiast on overtaking, stabbed the

the Venetian, who had spoken, to the heart, crying out with the blow, *Ti manda questo San Giovanni; che ti guariano le offe di San Marco.** His friend, astonished at a deed so bloody, applied to a magistrate for justice, who, having heard the particulars, told him, that had a Venetian murdered a Genoese in Venice, no notice would have been taken of it, but that his complaint would probably be considered in a few days; —and so indeed it was, even sooner than he had promised, for early the next morning he too was found assassinated at the door of his lodgings, and the bearer of the great cross still maintains his post of honour. Now determine on the character of a people, among whom such crimes are committed with impunity.

* St. John sends thee this, that the bones of St. Mark may heal thee.

LETTER XIII.

Genoa, Oct. 6th. 1787.

WE shall leave Genoa in a few hours, and therefore I must conclude what remains to be said of it with as much expedition as possible. You wish to hear what English gentlemen we know in Italy. As we were among the first that passed the Alps, we have hitherto seen but few, a Mr. Dundas, son of Sir Thomas Dundas, met us at Turin, and has been of our party here. Yesterday we all dined with Mr. Braham, the British consul, at his villa near this place, and concluded the evening with him at his house in town. But to proceed in my account of Genoa: I must observe to you, that the republic is about 140 miles in length, and from twenty to thirty in breadth. The soil is not as grateful as the climate is favourable. If I except the
country

country near the gulphs of St. Remo and Speſſa, together with the valley of Polcevera, which are fruitful in olives, grapes, truffles, muſhrooms, figs, oranges, and lemons. The wines are of two ſorts, an ordinary, and rich muſcadine. The muſhrooms are ſo much admired in theſe parts of Europe, that their annual importation into Spain alone amounts to 5000l. but what the Genoefe find moſt profitable is their oil, which is only inferior to that of Lucca. The mineral productions principally conſiſt of ſalt, ſlate, and marbles; the laſt are beautiful and various, particularly thoſe of Seſtri di Ponente, which are conſequently the moſt eſteemed. Near the ſuburb of San Pietro d'Arena is a ſpecies of black ſand, that poſſeſſes a ſtrong magnetic quality, evident from its influence on the compaſs. This ſand has very much engaged the attention of the naturaliſt, as alſo a ſource of freſh water that riſes in the gulph of Speſſa, and occupies a ſpace of about thirty feet in circumference.

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The government of Genoa, which is confined to the nobles, was new modelled by the celebrated Andrew Doria and his associates in 1528. Having determined on such families as were eligible to state employments, they declared, for the purpose of preventing jealousies among the citizens who were excluded, that they would aggregate to the number then named ten families annually, which was accordingly done; but it was found that the nobility first chosen, assumed privileges incompatible with the equality that should subsist among the members of an aristocratic government. This was violently resented by those of subsequent creation, who in 1579, obliged the former to renounce all claim to exclusive power, and to declare the whole of the nobility on an equal footing.

It was then determined that every male patrician should, at the age of twenty-two years, have a seat in the great council, or body wherein the supreme authority resides. This council enacts or abrogates

laws : imposes taxes : elects a Doge or chief magistrate, with the great officers of the republic : makes war and peace : ratifies treaties ; and, in a word, exercises or delegates all the superior functions of government. The number is generally from three to four hundred, but as it has been found difficult to assemble so large a body, they draw annually by lot 200 of them, which they call the minor council, who in reality govern the republic. In affairs brought before either of them, it is necessary to have two thirds of the voices to carry the question, a rule that I think must be attended with confusion and delay. The Doge, or chief officer of the republic, is chosen from the councils of which he is president, and vested with the exclusive power of proposing whatever is submitted to their consideration. No person is eligible until he has attained the age of fifty. He remains in office only two years, but may be rechosen at the expiration of ten. His place of residence is the Signoria or Ducal Palace, where he is constantly attended

tended by two senators, who are in fact *spies*, and guarded by 100 Swiss soldiers. During his term of office, he has the title of Serenissimo, and ever afterwards that of Excellentissimo, with the honourable charge of perpetual Procurator ; but so carefully does this jealous constitution provide against his abuse of power, that on quitting his office, he is responsible to the supreme Censors for his administration. Every Doge must be lawfully born, and not the adopted son of nobility. Their manner of election is as follows. The great council assemble, and draw by lot out of their own number 50, who propose 20 as worthy of the dignity ; out of whom the great council again select 15 ; this number is reduced by the 200 to six, from whom the Doge is chosen by a majority of voices. The other officers of state I shall pass over in silence, as I have already put more into my journal on the subject, than I can even review with patience, much less transcribe. The law of Genoa, I mean that which determines on the property of the subject, is, as I believe in

all Italy, founded on the Roman, and the criminal has nothing in it to engage the attention of an Englishman. The first, (whatever might be its merit,) is generally subservient to interest: and the second very seldom put in force; as you may perceive by what I have said on the frequency of assassinations, that crimes pass with impunity; which I partly attribute to the supineness and immorality of the magistrates, partly to the fear they are in of the common people or mob. The ecclesiastical state is governed by an archbishop and six suffragans; besides these are the bishops of Sarzana and Savona; the first dependent on the see of Rome, and the second on the metropolitan of Milan. The inquisition they say is no longer formidable, but as I find a dominican friar at the head of it, I do not give the most implicit faith to this declaration. The soldiers of the republic, for I cannot say military establishment, are about 1500, principally Germans and Swiss; as they have a noble at their head, who is never seen in an uniform, you may conceive

ceive what sort of an appearance they make *individually*, for *in a body* I believe the government is too compassionate to expose them to view.

The population of the republic is estimated at 350,000 souls, out of which number 90,000 are inhabitants of the capital.— The revenues amount to 153,264*l.* and the expence of government is only 98,407*l.*; so that there should be annually a saving of 54,857*l.*

The History of Genoa has little in it deserving of more than general attention previous to the new modelling of the government by the elder Doria. It belonged to the Romans, the Goths, the Eastern Empire, the Lombards, to Charlemagne and his successors. In 1096 the inhabitants revolted, and declared themselves independent, making choice of aristocracy as their form of Government. In 1257 they elected a Captain or Doge, one Simon Bocca-negra, whom they vested with absolute power.

Instead of tracing the several forms of political administration (of which I believe no country ever had a greater variety) I shall remind you that about the commencement of its independence the Crusades broke out, and set all the fanatic states of Europe in a blaze.—In the short space of thirteen years, Genoa furnished the princes, who embarked in this expedition, with seven large fleets, one of which alone, was composed of 68 gallies.—By such valuable contracts it soon became the most opulent and powerful city in Europe, and got possession of the island of Sardinia and principal commerce of the Mediterranean. The first of these was the subject of those bloody and obstinate wars between it and Pisa, which ended in the destruction of the latter. But its most formidable rival was Venice.

The interest of these states clashed no less in their commerce than in their conquests, and the wars, that were the consequence of their hatred, have in some measure led to their present mutual insignificance.

cance. But to pass over these times to the period when the politics of Genoa became more interwoven with those of the leading kingdoms of Europe, I shall take up its history at the time that Charles the Fifth and Francis the First contended for superiority in Italy.

The holy league of Cognac, formed for the express purpose of opposing the ambition of Charles, absolved Francis from the oath he had taken to fulfil the treaty of Madrid; in which, among other things, was the cession of Genoa to the Emperor. In consequence therefore of this league of absolution, &c. a detachment of 2000 men under the command of Lautrec, invested this city by land, whilst the celebrated Andrew Doria blocked it up by sea, and soon compelled the garrison to surrender it to the arms of France.

Doria had been attached to the French interest from his youth, and had rendered the nation most essential service. As

an admiral his reputation was unrivalled: nevertheless, being of a disposition entirely dissimilar to the pliant and subtle humour of those with whom he served, and accustomed to speak his sentiments with more freedom than courtesy, he drew upon himself the ill-will of those who surrounded the king, and they represented him as proud, turbulent, and disaffected. Francis, whose mind was of a nature the most open and unsuspicious, gave little attention to this general imputation, till hearing that Doria had so violently resented the clearing and fortifying of the harbour of Savona, intended to be the rival of Genoa in commerce, as to menace revolt. He commanded Barbiseux, one of his admirals, to sail immediately for Naples (in the siege of which Doria was then employed) and seize him and his gallies; but it was too late. The Genoese admiral, having received early intelligence of his intention, had already formed his plan of leaving him: and was determined on giving liberty to his country. By the persuasion of the Marquis del Guasto,

Guaſto, a Spaniſh nobleman, whom he had taken priſoner in a ſea combat off Naples, he ſent a meſſenger to the Emperor, by whom he propoſed to put himſelf and his republic under his protection, and to ſerve him with eleven gallies for a certain monthly ſum. Charles, who well knew how to value ſo great an acquiſition to his arms, ſent him *carte blanche*; in conſequence of which he ſailed to Genoa, and took poſſeſſion of it almoſt without reſiſtance, expelling the French garrifon commanded by the Mareſhal Trivulcio, the very governor whom he had left there on taking it from the Imperialiſts. Having thus delivered his republic, he new modelled the government, and then proved the ſincerity of his patriotiſm, by not aſſuming the ſovereignty of it; he retired to private life, in which he received a reward more deſirable and more glorious to a noble mind than univerſal empire,—the love and gratitude of his country.

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These he enjoyed undisturbed for nineteen years, with the additional satisfaction of seeing his system of political administration firmly established ; but suddenly the whole was on the very point of being overturned by the ambition and abilities of an individual. John Lewis Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, a young nobleman, head of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Genoa, determined on attempting that, which Doria, from a love of liberty, had rejected,—the absolute dominion of his country. Though only twenty-two years of age, he possessed all those qualities which made him equal to so dangerous and so difficult an enterprize. Under the appearance of being entirely devoted to pleasure, he concealed his real character, and avoided the suspicion that his great talents and popularity might otherwise create ; for his unbounded generosity had gained him the affection of the common people ; which, though ever governed by caprice, or the ill-directed liberality of the opulent, is very necessary in such desperate attempts. When
every

every precaution had been taken, it was determined to put the plot in execution at midnight, between the first and second of January 1547. This was accordingly done; the conspiracy had succeeded; and even deputies were appointed to treat with the leaders of it, when an accident rendered the whole ineffectual. Fiesco, having allotted to his partizans the different quarters of the city which they were to secure, reserved for himself the lesser port or d'Arfena, as the most difficult and important. There also every thing had happened to his wishes, and he was on the point of departing, when a tumult arose in one of the great gallies that lay nearest the shore; fearful of sedition among the slaves at a time so critical, he turned about suddenly, and, hastening on board, stepped on the plank which reached from the wharf to the deck, his foot slipped, he fell into the sea, and from the weight of his armour sunk and perished.

The protection which Genoa received from the Emperor Charles the Vth, in consequence

sequence of Doria's revolt, attached her to the interest of Spain, with whom she was engaged in three wars against France. The first broke out in the reign of Henry the II^d, who was invited by the Corsicans to take possession of their island, and receive them as his subjects. This war continued from 1553 to 59, when peace was concluded at Chateau Cambresis between all the belligerent powers. The second commenced in 1624, during the reign of Lewis the XIIIth, to whom Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, allied himself, in hopes of recovering the marquisate of Zucarello, of which he had been dispossessed by the Emperor Ferdinand, in consequence of a claim laid to it by the Genoese as a fief of the empire, formerly granted to them. The rapid success of the duke of Savoy threatened the entire conquest of the republic, when it was unexpectedly relieved from several quarters, the enemy driven back, and, in 1673, a peace concluded, which restored every thing that Genoa had lost. The last war with France, which happened
in

in 1684, was more destructive than either of the two former.

Lewis the XIVth, intoxicated with the adulation of a splendid court, and the abject servility of an entire people, was piqued at the attachment of this republic to Spain. For the purpose of giving the blow he meditated against it some colour of justice, (a condescension to which he seldom stooped in his career of insolent prosperity) he demanded satisfaction for certain insults put upon the servants of his resident, St. Olon, by some inferior officers of justice, and what is still more extraordinary, for the councils not having reinstated the banished family of Fiesco. The Genoese, perceiving his design, and confiding in the protection of Spain, refused his demand; on which he sent a fleet of fourteen men of war, twenty gallies, two fireships, with many inferior vessels, under the command of Du Quesne, who anchored before Genoa in May 1684, and bombarded it from the 17th to the 28th. The wretched inhabitants, to save
what

what remained of their city, were obliged to obey the commands of that haughty monarch, who ordered them to send their Doge Imperiali Lescaro, and four senators, to Versailles, to sue for pardon at the foot of his throne. An act of such insolent, such ungenerous resentment, to a city, in comparison of his power, so pitiful as Genoa, and which his arms had already reduced to ruins, must long ago have excited in you a thorough contempt for the character of Lewis, surnamed the Great by the very ancestors of these men, who are now so violently opposing the power of the crown; and you will in consequence enjoy all that triumph which virtue feels in the humiliation of powerful despotism, when you reflect that this monster of pride and ambition, who would have reduced all Europe to his controul, was humbled to the very dust, and sued to England for peace, offering concessions more disgraceful than those by which Genoa appeased his indignation.

What a lesson for despotic princes !

The

The republic having suffered so severely by this war, and having so fully experienced the inability of Spain to protect her, grew cautious by misfortune, and wisely pursued the most rigid neutrality, as the system that could alone keep up her independence.—— This prudent conduct however was interrupted by the war for the succession of Austria, as Maria Theresa had, in the treaty of Worms, ceded the Marquisate of Final, which the Genoese had purchased of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, to the King of Sardinia. In this war, during the year 1746, they were dispossessed of all their territories, and finally obliged to surrender their capital to the Imperialists, commanded by General Brown. Thus, to all appearance, there was an end of the republic, when the Marquis di Botta, Brown's successor, suffered himself to be surprised and driven out of Genoa, by the populace,—perhaps by money. However, it would have been very soon retaken, had not the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle re-instated the Genoese in all their possessions.

The

The last thing that happened to disturb the tranquillity of the state, and convince it if necessary of its oppression and weakness, was the Corsican revolution.

The inhabitants of that island had ever been impatient of the Genoese dominion, having been always treated with contempt, rigour, and injustice—the characteristic features of hereditary republican government. The revolt in 1768, under the celebrated Pascal Paoli, would (as you well know) have had all the success that these gallant Islanders merited, had not Genoa, feeling its own want of power to reduce them, sold the sovereignty of Corsica to France, whose strength was too great to be resisted with success.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

Milan, Oct. 11, 1787.

THE road from Genoa to Pavia was in general the same as we had travelled in coming from Turin to Genoa. As Pavia has no monuments of its ancient grandeur, when it was the residence of a long race of monarchs, nor any thing of more modern date that merits attention, we made but little stay there. Adjoining to it we surveyed those plains, where in 1525, Francis the First was routed and taken prisoner by the Imperialists; and then pursued our journey to Milan, about fifteen miles farther.

This city, which of all in Italy is in point of size inferior only to Rome, appears to disadvantage after Turin and Genoa, being upon the whole ill built; yet far from uninteresting, as it contains many objects highly satisfactory to the attentive traveller.

VOL. I.

T

The

The cathedral, or (as here called) Il Duomo, is of the kind the most magnificent building I ever beheld. The whole is coated with slabs of white marble, and on the outside are six hundred statues of the same; some of which, though not many, have great merit. The aisle of this church is ample and grand. The choir full of sculpture, which seems admirably finished; but there is so much of it, that I should suppose six months would be insufficient for the contemplation of its beauties, there being, as they informed us, no less than 15,000 figures; but in my opinion far more deserving of attention than the Duomo is the new opera house, reported to be (and I readily believe it) the largest modern theatre in the world. Judge therefore of my surprize and admiration, on going into it!—The boxes are as so many parlours, with every convenient appendage, and being fitted up with furniture and hangings by the families to whom they belong, are magnificent in the extreme.

The

The citadel or castle of Milan is a mass of heavy fortification, which once was almost impregnable. This, however, you will suppose, has decreased in proportion to tactical improvement; as now its resistance could be but very feeble against the operations of a regular siege.

We also visited the Ducal Palace, where we were shewn a noble ball or gala room, and some English furniture, but no good statues or pictures. However, our guide, or as here called, *cicerone*, made us ample recompense for our disappointment in this respect, by taking us to the churches of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and Santa Maria presso San Celso; in the first are two famous paintings by Titian and Leonardo da Vinci; the subjects of which are Christ crowned with thorns, and the last supper.—The portico of a church, called San Lorenzo, seems to have been part of the peristyle of a temple, built in honour of Hercules, by Maximian, the associate of the Emperor Diocletian; it consists of sixteen marble co-

lumns beautifully fluted. The Ambrosian library and museum, of which Milan is so proud, did not answer my expectation.— They certainly contain a noble collection of books, paintings, &c. but from the hyperbolic description I had heard of them, I looked for something more than I saw.— The library was founded by the Cardinal Frederick Borroméo, and, what is rather singular for a building of this kind, was dedicated to St. Ambrose, from whom you perceive it is named. It is said to contain 40,000 volumes, and in the museum are many good pictures. I was particularly pleased with a drawing or cartoon by Raphael, called the School of Athens, the painting of which (they tell me) is at Rome.

I believe few travellers come to Milan who are not soon after their arrival taken to a place called La Casa Simonetta, an uninhabited feat, two miles from the city, remarkable for its echo, which repeats the human voice 38, and the report of a pistol 57 times;

times, as we found by experiment. It is at the back part of the house, and seems to be produced by the projection of two wings from the body, that form a kind of court yard, but I think there must be some other unknown cause for so singular an effect. As the noblesse of this place have the character of being the most hospitable and polite in Italy, we much regret the absence of the Marchioness Castiglione, who is here what the Duchess of Polignac is at Paris, the friend of foreigners, and the model of fashion. Among the letters we were honored with from Lord Lansdowne, one was for this lady.

The manufactures of Milan are, for an inland city, very considerable. One house alone, called la Casa Clerici, employs above 700 men in making glass, earthen-ware, goatskin leather, woollen cloths, &c. and another the Casa Pensa, near 600, who work only in silk—the handkerchiefs made there are much the best I ever saw, of which I cannot mention to you a surer in-

stance than the generality of their wear. Exclusive of these are many other works of importance in velvets, brocades, Indians, gold, silver, copper, chrystal, and paper.

We learn from the history of this country, that after the conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne, it continued subject to the emperors of Germany till the league of Mosio, concluded in March 1226 by all the principal cities that lie between the Alps and the Appenines, the confines of France, and the Adriatic sea, under the appellation of Societas Lombardorum. The sovereignty was then disputed by the Visconti and Torriani, two powerful families of Milan, and obtained by the former; who held it till 1447, as long as there was any legitimate issue to succeed; when Francis Sforza, bastard of the celebrated general of this name, who is so frequently mentioned by Guicciardini in the wars of Naples, having married Bianca Maria, the natural daughter of the last duke Visconti, got possession of the dutchy. His second son was the

the celebrated Lewis Sforza, surnamed the Moor, whose character strikes me, as similar to that which is generally given us of our Richard the III^d, ambition, courage, cruelty, and hypocrisy, being the distinguishing qualities of both. Lewis, like Richard, was uncle and guardian to a young prince, and like him also did he ascend a throne by the murder of his nephew. Though the fates of the two usurpers were not exactly similar, yet they seem equally the effect of divine judgment, as punishments for their crimes. The king of England lost his crown and life in battle; the duke of Milan was dispossessed of his dominions by Lewis the XIIth of France, and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he died after eleven years of close confinement, aggravated by neglect, and probably embittered by reflection. It might not be improper to observe to you, that these princes were contemporary, though the usurpation of Sforza happened ten years after that of Richard. The last of this family was Francis the II^d, son of Lewis the

Moor, who dying without issue in 1535, the emperor Charles the Vth seized the dutchy of Milan as a fief escheat to the empire. It continued in his family till the demise of Charles the Ild, king of Spain, when in the war of succession to the Spanish monarchy, it was taken by Prince Eugene, and re-annexed to the empire, in which it now continues, having been confirmed by the treaty of Rastadt in 1714: by the quadruple alliance two years after: by the peace of Vienna in 1725: and, finally by that of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.

The government of the Austrian Lombardy is absolute, there being no constitutional law that limits the authority of the sovereign. Like that of Brabant, &c. it is principally carried on by a governor and minister of state, who, on affairs of moment, receive instructions from the court of Vienna. The present governor is the reigning duke of Modena, who will be succeeded by the emperor's youngest brother, the archduke Ferdinand, now resident at Milan.

The

The military establishment of the country is from 16 to 20,000 men, the population 1,000,000, including the capital, which is said to contain 116,000.

We have not been at court, as the archduke is absent. He is very partial to England, which (you may remember) he visited two years ago, where he was magnificently entertained by the king at Windsor castle.

I shall conclude this letter at Bologna.

Bologna, the 19th.

WE left Milan on the 11th, and soon reached Lodi, a town remarkable for the best Parmesan cheese. It is made entirely of cows, not as I had heard in England of goats milk; the cattle are brought lean out of Germany to graze on these plains; so that its rich and peculiar flavour is altogether dependant on the pasture. From Lodi we
came

came to Placentia, or, as it is here called, Piacenza, a city subject to the duke of Parma. We ascended the tower of its cathedral, for the purpose of viewing the country, where Hannibal routed the consul Sempronius; but to ascertain the exact spot is impossible, though we know the two armies were encamped on each side of the river Trebia. The equestrian statues of Alexander, and his son Ranuzio Farnesé, did not give us the satisfaction we expected; therefore on that subject I shall be silent. Early the next morning we arrived at Parma, having (according to Pliny) travelled either over or very near the *Æmilian* way. I shall say no more of Parma than that it is an extensive city, and on the whole not ill built. What principally engage the attention of the traveller, are the theatre, and academy of sculpture and painting; the former of these built by Vignola in the reign of Ranuzio (whose statue I have just noticed) is much admired and studied by the lovers of architecture; it is upon the ancient model, and remarkable for the full effect

effect which sound has even at the most distant part of it from the stage, that is, about 310 feet. This circumstance is attributed not to the design of the architect, but to some accidental cause, hitherto undiscovered. In the Proscenium is a kind of basin, that by pipes might be occasionally filled with water. In it they represented naumachiæ, or sea-fights, for which the galleys are still shewn in the theatre; but I think a scene of this nature under cover, and in so confined a place, must at the best have been insipid, and uninteresting. In the academy is some mutilated grecian sculpture, the drapery of which is admirable; but the grand object is Corregio's famous picture of the holy family—a wonderful production of the pencil. It has been asserted, that the figures of this fine piece are too homely; but I think the objection scarcely deserves attention. Corregio was too great an artist to be inobservant of character, and to sacrifice consistency to complexion.

The

The dutchies of Parma and Placentia are governed by an infant of Spain ; the Spanish royal family being descended in the female line from the Farnesi, the illegitimate offspring of Pope Paul the III^d. Anthony, the last duke of this house, died in 1731, without issue. From Parma we came to Reggio, and from Reggio to Modena, where I was delighted with the architecture of the ducal palace built by Avanzini. The collection of pictures is still capital, though a hundred of the best were purchased for Augustus king of Poland. In four hours after our departure from Modena, we arrived at Bologna, which is said to contain 55,000 people. Though in the churches and palaces we had some specimens of noble architecture, its general appearance is unpleasing, from the prevailing custom of building all the houses with piazzas or porticos before them, which, however useful against the inclemency of the seasons, close up and disfigure the streets. Bologna is above all other cities, Rome excepted, remarkable for its collection of paintings. It was (if
you

you recollect) the birth-place and school of the Caracci; but instead of crowding my letter with a catalogue of these performances, I shall only observe, that a Saint Cecilia by Raphael,* a picture of the Virgin, Child, and little St. John, by Corregio,† two by Guido René, one known by the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, the other supposed to represent Liberty and Modesty;‡ a St. Jerome, by Ludovico Caracci,§ &c gave me the greatest satisfaction.

There are also many master-pieces of modern sculpture, but the most striking, and in my humble opinion the best executed, is the Colossean bronze statue of Neptune, by John of Bologna. It is the principal figure of a noble fountain; the attitude, the aspect, and anatomy of which are inexpressibly fine, and I think reach even Homer's description of this *earth shak-*

* In the church of Giovanne in Monte.

† Caprara palace.

‡ Palaces Zampieri and Monti.

§ In the Monti palace.

ing god. The famous towers of this place La Garisenda and Affinelli, we have frequently seen. The former is 142 feet in height, and leans eight over its base; the other 300, and inclines something, though little, out of its perpendicular; but one view of such objects is quite sufficient for me.

The public Museum, or Istituto, founded by Pope Lambertini, who was a Bolognese, is a noble collection of every thing that can promote and facilitate the study of the arts and sciences; a library of 100,000 volumes, apartments for chemistry, botany, and surgery, full of anatomical preparations in wax: a cabinet of natural history: an observatory: schools for the polite arts: a collection of genuine and counterfeit medals for that study: in short, it is a complete practical encyclopedia, with appointed professors for each respective branch. A committee of twenty-four directors assemble there every Thursday to superintend the whole. I should have omitted mentioning

tioning the opera, but for the singular illiberality of the managers, which indeed reflects disgrace upon the city, and I believe you will adopt this opinion, when I inform you, that they exact of foreigners a sum nearly double to what Italians pay for entrance. We did not perceive this imposition till we had been twice at the theatre. The third night we were determined not to submit to it, and, being refused admission for the common sum, returned to our inn, where we had not been five minutes before they sent to apologize, and begged us to come back; but with this request we did not think proper to comply. The last places that we visited were the churches of San Petronio and San Michael in Bosco. In the former is the famous Meridian of Cassini, engraved on copper, and inserted in the pavement 222 feet in length. By the admission of the sun's rays through a small aperture on the top of the church, it marks the equinoxes and solstices. From San Michael we enjoyed a most pleasing prospect of Bologna, and the extensive plains of Lombardy.

I have

I have little to observe on the history of this city. Since the reign of Charlemagne it has been governed by the holy see, some revolutions brought about by the Pepoli and Bentivogli excepted. In 1462, John Bentivogli seized and exercised the sovereign power until 1506, when he was driven out by that bold and enterprising church militant Pope Julius the II^d.

The citizens apparently possess great privileges, being governed by their own senate of sixty, from which are chosen a Gonfaloniere, or president, and eight Anziani, or counsellors: the people are subject to no duties, but one on wine: their properties are secure from confiscation. They send an ambassador, and auditor of the rota or supreme court of justice at Rome, to that city; and, finally, have no citadel or fortrefs to overawe them. But from farther enquiry I am induced to believe that this is mere pageantry, as the senate is nominated by the pope, who governs as despotically through his cardinal and vice-legat
at

at Bologna, as in any other part of his territories.

One morning we happened to be present at the infliction of a punishment that was quite new to us. I believe they call it *La corda*; it is as follows.

A large pulley is fixed to an iron crane, about 40 feet high, which projects from the side of a house. Over this pulley is a rope, to which the culprit's wrists (being previously tied together behind him) are fastened. He is then drawn up slowly to a certain height, when the rope being suddenly loosened, he drops within a few feet of the ground. This torture is repeated a second and a third time, the last fall being made higher than that preceding it; but the second never fails of producing the desired effect, that is, of dislocating the shoulder bones. On enquiry into the offence of the criminal whom we saw, I was told that he had undergone this punishment three times in seven months, for giving the

coltellata, or stab, with a knife to three different persons, the last of whom was his mother. Had he robbed the church he would have been burnt alive.

The people of this place seem to have all that partiality for music which I expected to find in Italy. I mention this from the many serenades we hear every night. One of these marching concerts is rather curious; it consists of eight old men, who are all blind, all cousins, and all natives of Bologna. They never fail to attend us in the afternoon.

We are again joined by Mr. Dundas, who is a charming companion. He is very fond of sculpture and painting, and will, before he leaves Italy, be a true virtuoso. We all think ourselves extremely fortunate in not having any acquaintance here, which would but divert our time from that we most wish to cultivate—a knowledge of the polite arts.

Though

Though we expected to find novelty in almost every object, I was much surprised on enquiring the hour to hear the waiter reply twenty-three and a half; I have since learnt that in most parts of Italy the last hour ends, and the first begins, at sunset; so there being four and twenty between those periods, the answer was proper: yet I fear it will be long before this manner of computing time becomes familiar to me.

LETTER XV.

Florence, Nov. 10., 1787.

A FEW miles south of Bologna we again ascended the Apennines; which are so much steeper than on the confines of Genoa, as to make it necessary to assist the post-horses with yokes of oxen; and yet these mountains have not that rude and naked appearance which I expected to have seen; but, on the contrary, are covered with brushwood, the foliage of which, now mellowed into a variety of shades and tints by an Italian autumn, present a most pleasing appearance; for though it remind us of the coming winter, yet, as we shall pass it in the softer climates of Italy, I have not to apprehend such storms and chilling mists as sail over you from Bwlch y Van.* We lay the first night at a small inn on these

* A high mountain over Brecknock.

hills,

hills, and the day after arrived at Florence, having stopped some time on the road for the purpose of seeing La pietra mala, a spot of earth and stones on the side of a mountain, that takes fire from the application of lighted straw and wood; but we had not the good fortune to succeed in the experiment, though attended by people of the place, and all the necessary apparatus. From the road our view of Florence in the vale of Arno was noble; but yet, believe me, this boasted valley, whose very sound has ever created in me the most pleasing ideas of rural scenery, has not half the beauty of many I could name on your side of the Severn; and the Arno is not that limpid stream, which I thought could be second only to the Peneus, but a muddy and shallow river, the exact counterpart of the Seine, at Paris. However, the city is much to my taste; its situation is agreeable; its streets for the most part wide; and its edifices, both public and private, remind us of the Medici, and revival of the liberal arts.

The palace of the grand duke was built by one Pitti, a private citizen, from whom it was named. Its architecture is the rudest specimen of the Tuscan and Ionic orders I ever beheld; yet I cannot but think its appearance grand and magnificent. The apartments were, as we expected, rather too dark for their numerous and valuable collection of paintings by Titian, Guido René, Salvator Rosa, Paul Veronese, Pietro da Cortona, and Raphael, whose celebrated picture of the Madonna della sedia, even infidels would worship. It represents the Virgin seated (thence called della sedia) and the infant Jesus on her lap. The choice of attitude in holding the child to her bosom, her complacent look, beautifully pensive, and the happy countenance of her son, are treated in a manner peculiar to this wonderful artist, which, as it never has, I much fear never will be equalled. Behind the palace rises a steep hill laid out in pleasure gardens, called Boboli, which are ornamented with statues, and basons of water. From its summit the view of
Florence

Florence, the river, and the vale of Arno, is extremely rich.

The city is divided by the river in two unequal parts. One of its bridges, called *Il ponte della Trinità*, is much admired for the cycloidal turn of the arches; but I am less partial to this than to the semicircular form. Of the churches the most remarkable is the *Duomo*; more, however, as an object of novelty than admiration, from its being coated with various coloured marbles, which gives it an appearance not dissimilar to a harlequin's jacket. Besides, the architecture is a medley of all the orders, heaped and crowded together in confusion; but from this general censure I must except the dome or cupola, which is admirably raised. Near this cathedral is a building called, *Il Battistèrio*, where all the Florentine children are baptized; the bronze gates of which, are sculptured with such art by *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, that the great *Buonarotti* is said to have exclaimed on seeing them: "*Queste son degne di esser presentate a Giove per*

farne le portelle del paradiso."* In the church of San Lorenzo is the superb chapel of the Medici Family, and some fine sculpture by Michael Angelo. We visited also that of St. Mark, not as dilettanti, but to provide ourselves with liqueurs and perfumes, made by the Dominican friars of this convent, and generally esteemed the best in Europe.†

And now let me draw your attention to the gallery of this place, which, for its various and valuable collection, is eminently distinguished above all other. However, as so many ample descriptions have been given of it by ingenious travellers, I shall be as concise as possible, only taking notice of what I received the greatest pleasure from contemplating.

* These are worthy of being presented to Jupiter, and made the portals of paradise.

† But the use of perfumes is interdicted in the softer climate of Italy, as ladies would faint at a scented head-dress or handkerchief. I should have considered this as affectation, if it were not so universally proscribed. Indeed, the French, who are of all people the most partial to perfumes, find them intolerable after some years residence in the country.

It

It stands on the banks of the Arno, near the ancient ducal palace, and was begun and finished by the Medici, originally a family of private citizens, to whom succeeding ages are more indebted for their refinement, than to the most powerful monarchs of Europe. In 1564, Cosmo the 1st. employed the celebrated George Vasari as architect, with intention of uniting under the same roof, the different chambers of the magistracy. But Francis, who succeeded him, altered the design of it to its present purpose; so that instead of being appropriated to courts of law, and a noisy bar, it was more happily converted into an elegant and peaceful asylum for antiquity and the muses. It is composed of three corridors, similar in form to a Greek Π ; the two longest are about 404 feet, and the other 140, with sixteen or seventeen noble apartments on each side. In the former are antique busts of the Roman emperors, from the first Cæsar to Constantine, with many of their wives, &c. the portraits of several of the most remarkable men from Hanibal

to

to Paoli; statues both modern and ancient, and a noble collection of pictures: in the latter are also paintings and sculpture, but of a higher order: ancient and modern medals: precious gems, whose exquisite engravings remind us of the age of Alexander, and of the art of Pyrgoteles: sacred, domestic, and military utensils of the ancients: specimens of their porcelain: Etruscan vases: ancient and modern bronzes; and antique pictures: but of this numerous catalogue I am sure you are too charitable to wish me to write you a description; I shall therefore, as I have before said, confine myself to those pieces with which I was most pleased, such as the statues of two wolf dogs in the vestibule, both antique, and highly finished: the busts of Julius Cæsar, and a dying Alexander the Great. At the upper end of the eastern corridor, a horse, the anatomy and proportion of the head and body most admirable; but the legs the work of some modern stone cutter: the statues of Æsculapius and Mercury, both antique: that of Bacchus, by Michael Angelo:

Angelo : a bronze statue of an Etruscan Haruspex, robed and in the act of speaking. This was found in the lake of Thrasimene, and is so perfect a figure, that the very attitude and countenance seem to carry with them persuasion : a copy of the famed Laocoon in the Museo Clementino at Rome, by Baccio Bandinelli, than which I can scarce conceive the original to have greater merit. These are all in the corridors. What I most admire in the cabinets, are a bronze statue of Mercury, by John of Bologna, the design of which is singular ; the artist having introduced this felon deity, as waisted to heaven on the breath of Zephyrus, whom he represents by a head with the face upwards, and from the mouth issues a strong blast, on which Mercury seems to rise : the Hermaphrodite, a divine Greek statue, that is exactly what it ought to be. You recollect the story of the fond Salmacis, who clasped her lover Hermaphroditus in her arms, and prayed, not ineffectually, that the gods would make them one body ; Hercules with his club subduing a centaur, but

but what centaur I know not, never having heard that he had slain any other than Nessus, who perished by his *arrow*, in attempting to force Dëjanira on the banks of the Evenus. This is an admirable piece of antique sculpture : finally the unhappy Niobe and her children, the exact number of which it is impossible to ascertain, as so many ancient authors have differed in that respect. The sculptor, or rather sculptors of this group (for it is attributed to more than one) have followed Ovid's account, and made them fourteen. The different attitudes and expressions of grief, terror, and despair in the sons and daughters, are wonderfully given ; but the principal figure is that of Niobe ; she appears bending over the last, the youngest, and dearest of her children, who clings to her knees for protection, whilst her right hand is spread over the child, her left is lifted up to ward off the fatal shaft, and her countenance, beautiful and majestic, though in extreme anguish, is raised towards heaven, seemingly to supplicate the offended offspring of Latona.

tona. In a word, she appears to be in the very moment of change, when

“ Nullos movet aura capillos :
 “ In vultu color est sine sanguine ; lumina mœstis
 “ Stant immota genis : nihil est in imagine vivi.
 “ Ipsa quoque interiùs cum duro lingua palato
 “ Congelat ; et venæ defistunt posse moveri.
 “ Nec flecti cervix, nec brachia reddere gestus,
 “ Nec pes ire protest*.

OVID. METAM. lib. vi. line 311.

But I was surpris'd to find these fine statues so ill placed. Instead of being (as they should be) grouped in confusion, they are ranged in rows, and seemingly equidistant round the noble saloon, which the Grand Duke has built for their reception. Near this room are two apartments, which

Imitated.

* Not a hair

Moves to the wind. Her crimson beauty flies
 Her lifeless cheeks, and fix'd appear her eyes.
 Now cold and petrified her veins she feels,
 Her palate stiffens, and her tongue congeals ;
 Neck, arms, and feet, the fatal influence own,
 And all the woman hardens into stone.

contain,

contain, what I am sure is in no other place assembled, a collection of between three and four hundred of the most celebrated painters portraits, done and presented by themselves to the Florentine gallery. I rather exulted in perceiving that none of the modern had equal merit with that of Mr. Moore, an English landscape painter resident at Rome: but the pride I felt in the skill of a countryman was severely wounded at being shewn the faded daubing of Sir ———, which, unfortunately, is hung near some of the oldest portraits in the room, remarkable for their strength of colours. How is it to be lamented that this gentleman, who undoubtedly ranks among the first of modern painters, should have so long persevered in this error? I sincerely hope, however, that he will replace this his present disgraceful representative, by another in his best manner of colouring.

And now let me conclude this article with the tribune, an octagon cabinet, which, for its collection of sculpture and painting, is, I should suppose, unequalled.

led. Though the corridors and other apartments had prepared me for this scene, I assure you, that my surprise on entering was a more violent emotion than I ever felt of the same nature. Nor did it, as it generally does, die away into indifference, from the frequency of beholding the objects that had raised it; but was succeeded by the mildest sensations of delight, which I have since experienced many an hour when sitting, silent and alone, to contemplate these works, that I can hardly conceive human. On advancing a few steps into the room, I found myself in the middle of five statues; a dancing fawn: a pair of wrestlers, or, as I would rather suppose, Pancratiastræ*: an Apollo: the Arrotino, whom some call (though I see not with what reason) the slave that discovered Cataline's conspiracy, and the Venus di Medici. In the four first, few faults and innumerable beauties appear. But thou, parent of love! how shall I describe thee, who art all beauty and all perfection?

* See Pliny, Book 34. Chap. 2.

Suppose

inestimable, are the only treasures of the tribune: the walls are hung with pictures by a triumvirate of painters, who, since the revival of the liberal arts, have never had their equals. First and alone Raphael, then Corregio and Titian. We beheld the three manners of the former; in the last is a St. John, of which I shall say nothing, as I am really at a loss for expression. By Corregio is a little Madona on her knees, and by Titian, the famous painting of his naked wife, called his Venus. Instead of expatiating on the merit of these pictures, I have done well in naming the artists who painted them, by whom it is almost impossible that any thing should be otherwise than excellent.

The dutchy of Tuscany, after the destruction of the Roman empire, fell under the dominion of the Ostrogoths, who were succeeded by the kings of Lombardy. After a series of years, and a variety of revolutions, through which the form of government continued republican, the celebrated

family of the Medici took possession of it. In 1531, the emperor Charles the Fifth created Alexander di Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany, though violently opposed by the noble families of Florence, whose republican spirits could not easily brook the absolute government of a man raised from their own order. A long line of princes succeeded Alexander; most of whom seemed to possess an hereditary taste for science and the polite arts, and greatly encouraged their growth. The last of this illustrious race was John Gaston, whose conduct was very dissimilar to that of his ancestors, being extremely immoral. After his death Tuscany devolved on Francis duke of Lorain and Bar, in lieu of his dutchies which were granted to the unfortunate Stanislaus king of Poland. Francis was succeeded by the reigning duke Peter Leopold, brother to the present emperor of Germany.

Much as I respect those of the Medici, who were the patrons of learned and ingenious men; yet I am free to own, that I look

look up with still greater veneration to the wise prince that now fills the ducal throne of Tuscany.* On his accession in 1765, he found every thing in that disorder and confusion, which is the natural consequence of a long and dissipated reign. Commerce was languishing: manufactures at a stand: agriculture neglected: the nobles ruined by imitating the vices of their prince: the commonalty harrassed: and crimes of every nature so increased from impunity, and the total subversion of law, as to threaten consequences of the most dangerous and destructive nature to society. Tuscany was at that time the most oppressed and deplorable of the Italian states. To tell you that it is now the happiest would be saying but little; I shall go much farther, and observe, that there is no country in Europe in which the prince rules absolutely, that is governed with such policy and moderation. Leopold knew that the licentiousness of his people was the main obstacle to their

* Since emperor of Germany, having succeeded his brother Joseph the II^d.

well-being, and resolved to make that his primary subject of reform; true it is, that in the arduous attempt he lost many of his subjects, who migrated to other countries, and has not perhaps as yet succeeded among the higher order to his wishes; but of the common people he has almost changed the very nature. As I know your sentiments on penal laws, I am persuaded you will much admire him as a legislator, when I inform you that he permits no man to suffer death, whatever be his offence; but by the most rigid slavery (the extreme labour of which is converted to the public benefit) wisely inflicts a punishment far severer and more dreadful. His encouragement of the useful arts has increased the population and riches of his dutchy to a degree unknown before; and though his people be lightly taxed in proportion to those of the other Italian states, I believe there are few princes whose treasuries are so full as his. The domestic profusion of his subjects he has put a stop to, by holding out an example of œconomy in his own household; and the nobility

nobility can appear at court in no other than the plainest and most simple habits. His chief pleasure is the discharge of his duty by promoting the national welfare. Though there be several departments of government with their respective officers, the Grand Duke seems to direct the whole; or in other words, to be his own minister, for he suffers no measures of consequence to be transacted without his knowledge and approbation.

I shall conclude this letter with a few cursory remarks on the country over which he rules.

The vegetable productions are similar to what they are in other parts of Italy; the principal being corn, vines, olives and mulberry trees for the silk worm.

The mineral are most various and valuable, consisting of beautiful and different coloured marbles; transparent alabaster; agate; amethysts; chalcedonies; chrystal:
X 3 allum:

allum : salt : saltpetre : earth for colours : silver and copper mines : (none of which however are worked) and a great variety of mineral waters.

Along the Mediterranean lie tracts of marshy plains, which comprehend no less than 1800 square miles, where numerous herds of oxen are fed during the winter and spring ; but as a noxious vapour exhales in the summer months, they make an early retreat (conscious of the approaching evil) to the hills up the country. I think this breed of cattle much larger than ours in England. They are all of a dark cream colour, and, being very tractable, are more used for draught than horses.

The swine also of Tuscany I shall beg leave to mention, being remarkable for the flavour and delicacy of their flesh, which I attribute to the chesnuts they feed upon. But the most lucrative business of this country is the anchovy and tunny fisheries. They begin on the first of July, and end
about

the middle of August. The best anchovies are found off the island of Gorgona; and though the fishermen take annually from ten to fifteen thousand barrels, that weigh 40lb. each, this does not amount to half the quantity that the English ships demand. They must be very attentive to cure the fish immediately on their being taken out of the sea, or they spoil. The tunny is caught off the isle of Elba, to the amount of 450,000 lbs. every season that proves favourable,

In addition to the many agreeable things at Florence, I cannot but mention to you our hotel; it is kept by one Meggit, an Englishman, and is, in my opinion, equal to any I ever entered, either in or out of England. We find every thing served up in the English manner, which I am unfashionable enough to prefer to all other. Meggit is not only a good innkeeper, but very moderate in his charges.

As I have no more to say to you, adieu.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

Leghorn, Nov. 15, 1787.

THREE weeks, three little weeks, that seemed no more than three happy days, did we pass at Florence; and dedicated never less than four out of the twenty-four hours to the grand gallery, and the muses. At length, great ideas of Rome and the Capitol roused us from these inactive scenes of pleasure, and persuaded our departure. How restless is the human disposition, how impatient for novelty! Having taken one parting look at the tribune, and Madonna della Sedia, we bade adieu to this charming city, and travelled along the southern bank of the Arno to Pisa. You well remember, that Pisa was once the capital of an independent, a warlike, and a commercial republic, that disputed the dominion of the Italian and Grecian

Grecian seas with Genoa, and withstood all the attempts of Florence to reduce it, until 1509, when it was forced to capitulate, and become subject to its conquerors. From its present state it would be difficult to believe that so many large fleets had belonged to it, were it not sufficiently authenticated by history, especially as it is no longer a maritime city, the sea having receded to the distance of twelve miles, and the Arno being (if I mistake not) much too shallow for gallies. Its noble mansions empty and in decay; its silent streets, and general appearance, are melancholy proofs of its altered condition. Perhaps no people of modern date have been more attentive to the embellishment of their native city than the former inhabitants of Pisa; their commerce in the Mediterranean gave them continual opportunities of enriching it with the spoils of Greece, which they have most largely collected; as the profusion of Greek marbles with which they have covered their churches, indicates. The cathedral, though Gothic, is one of the most superb edifices

edifices I have ever seen; for besides its rich coating, it is in many places supported by columns of granate and porphyry, some of which are of one piece. Is it not more than probable that these marbles were the ornaments of Grecian temples, long the admiration and boast of the most ingenious people of antiquity? and now that they should glaze over the defects of this building; which, though admired, has for me no beauty but what it receives from them. Oh! how much is it to be lamented, that the Pisans had not, instead of demolishing those noble monuments of elder time, for their rich materials, imitated their orders of architecture, and introduced them to the age in which they lived, as the only good models to adopt. But this was not to be expected in the eleventh century, when superstition was so predominant, that science and the polite arts were considered as inimical to religion. Near, but not adjoining to the cathedral, is the Battistèrio, or Baptistery, which is equally remarkable for its rich marbles: its form is circular, and its
gates

gates of sculptured bronze, but the most curious object is the celebrated leaning tower; of which I well remember to have heard, before I knew that Pisa was in Italy. It stands in the same spacious area as the cathedral and baptistery, and is, in my opinion, a very noble structure, being, as the person who shewed it us justly observed, formed like a cylinder. It is in height 180 feet, and projects fourteen and a half over its basis,—the foundation having on that side sunk under the weight; so that its inclination is just three feet more than the tower of Caerfilly Castle in Glamorganshire. Near these buildings are long and spacious cloisters, called *Il campo santo*, which the good people of the place regard with a veneration that borders on devotion. During the crusades, the republic of Pisa, as well as Genoa, furnished the belligerent powers of Europe with fleets for transporting their troops and stores, to Palæstine. These fleets brought back what was considered an invaluable treasure—heavy cargoes of earth scraped from near the holy sepulchre

chre at Jerusalem, and carried to the sea shore on camels backs. The transports having safely landed this sacred lading at Pifa, it was immediately conveyed by all descriptions of people to these cloisters, which were in consequence made a burying-place for those citizens who would pay the sum demanded for their interment, which I hear is not inconsiderable. I had the presumption to ask the sexton what was the benefit that dead bodies received from being put into this mould. By way of answer, he stared me full in the face, and then turning to our guide, said, Non son Christiani sti Signori*? Non, non, son Inglefi†, replied the other, and walked on. The only tomb to which I paid any attention, was that of Algarotti, the inscription of which tells you it was written by his royal patron, the late king of Prussia,

* These gentlemen are not Christians?

† No, no, they are Englishmen.

Algarotti,

Algarotti, Ovidii Æmulo,
 Newtoni Discipulo
*Fredericus.**

In returning from this place to the inn, we were met by a large troop of galley slaves, whose condition is so extremely severe, that I think the most timorous would seize with transport any opportunity of putting an end to his existence; and yet, instead of pitying, I rather exulted in their misery, as most of them have perpetrated crimes that merit even this, the worst of tortures, which is indeed much too mild, for the monster who is the subject of the following anecdote.

In the year 1769, one Rossiter, a young Irishman, came to Leghorn in search of adventure, with no other recommendation than the deportment of a gentleman, added to a fine figure and countenance. Soon after his arrival, a lady, whose personal property was considerable,

* Frederic, in honour of Algarotti, the rival of Ovid, the disciple of Newton.

saw,

saw, and became violently enamoured of him; which was soon succeeded by a direct proposal on her part (no uncommon thing in Italy) to live with her. As he had been previously informed of her circumstances, and was pleased with her person, he immediately closed with the offer; and they in consequence resided together in all the warmth of love and intimacy of marriage. Her passion for him had at first prompted her to disregard the common law of modesty; after cohabitation it grew to such excess, as to trample on all prudence; for, not satisfied with having purchased for him a lieutenancy in the Tuscan army, she anticipated his every wish, more than supported his profusion: and, on being obliged to visit her relations in a distant part of Italy, intrusted him in her absence with her jewels, her money, and, in short, every thing she owned. Can you suppose that a man so cherished, and so relied on, could betray a confidence of this nature? Should you wonder at it, how much greater will be your surprise, when I tell you that he

not

not only robbed her of her property, but of her life. She returned to Leghorn sooner than she had intended, being pregnant by this monster, who received her with every mark of unaltered affection, but that same night murdered her in the very bedchamber that had so often been the guilty scene of her weakness and affection, a place that should of all other have been inviolable. The deed was soon discovered, and Rossiter apprehended, judged, and condemned to the gallies for life. Previously to the execution of this sentence, he was led out before the troops of the garrison, where his sword was broken over his head, his uniform stripped from him for the coarse habit of a galley slave; and thus, with a halter about his neck, was he delivered over to his punishment, under every mark of degradation and infamy. Yet even this wretch, thus stigmatized, could create affection in the female sex, who took every opportunity of supplying him with food; and one, a woman of condition, exerted all her interest to obtain his release for the purpose

purpose (as it is said) of marrying him. But the good Leopold rejected the petition with horror, declaring that he should look upon that man as a disgrace to his court, who could intercede on so wicked an occasion. How more than brutal was the affection that could attach itself to such a monster as Rossiter?

Pisa seems to be the hospital of Italy, from the salubrity of its climate, and the virtues of its baths; but as our object there was happily not the re-establishment of health, we departed early on the morning after our arrival, and in less than two hours entered Leghorn: a city that for commerce and population has far exceeded my expectations. The streets quite swarm with busy faces, insomuch, that I think few commercial towns in England are more alive. The ground on which it stands was ceded to the Medici, by the Republic of Genoa for Sarzana, a place on the frontiers of Tuscany almost unknown; and, now it would most willingly regain it, even by the sacrifice

sacrifice of half its magnificent capital, for the purpose of re-establishing its ruined commerce. How powerfully does experience convince us, not only in this, but in various other instances, of the inability of our understandings to calculate future events from present action. Had the Genoese foreseen the consequences of this cession, not Florence itself would have been accepted in exchange for the marshy and unwholesome spot on which this celebrated city stands. The decline of the one, and the rise of the other, may be dated from the time that Robert Dudley, duke of Northumberland, persuaded Ferdinand di Medici the II^d. to declare it a free port. Since this epoch it is, from great encouragement, wise regulations, and treaties of amity between Tuscany and the pirate states of Barbary, become the most considerable emporium of the Mediterranean, Marseilles not excepted; nor do its advantages flow altogether from its immediate commerce, as the greater number of ships employed by Britain, Holland, and the

northern states of Europe in the Levant trade, stop here for the purpose of performing their quarantaine on their return, which is most admirably regulated, and rigidly observed. No nation frequents it more than our own. We import British merchandise, and carry away anchovies, oils, wines, marbles, Parmasan cheese, dried fruits, &c. but the most lucrative branch of trade is that of coral, the fabric of which (principally managed by the Jews) is the most considerable of the kind in Europe. The quality of this petrified marine vegetable is so various, that they reckon no less than fourteen species of it. The best is brought from the coast of Africa, Sardinia, and Corsica; but the largest quantity is fished up at Leghorn. They grind it into different forms; the round is sent to America, the oval to the coast of Africa, and the larger pieces to Constantinople, where the Turks make use of them for buttons, &c. It is no wonder that I meet such crowds, when I find the population of this town, which is far from large, to be above 60,000 souls.

Though

Though the general appearance of the houses be not striking, yet many of the shops vie for size and brilliancy with those of London, and the coffee-houses are the most superb I have ever seen. The port is so crowded with shipping, that it was with difficulty I examined it in a small boat. It seems very commodious, but is so shallow in the middle, that ships are obliged to enter on each side. The quay that defends it from the sea is the noblest I ever beheld. You will readily suppose that a place of so great population, and such extensive commerce as Leghorn, contributes largely to the revenues of the Grand Duke, which amount to five or six hundred thousand pounds sterling, a very moderate sum when compared with those of England. We can say little of the society of this place, as we have been here so short a time; but the hospitality of the English inhabitants is very great, particularly of Mr. Darby, a gentleman in the banking and mercantile business, whose entertainments are most splendid. We have official letters from Lord Caer-

marthen for our consul Mr. Udney ; but hear he is absent in pursuit of paintings, in which he deals very largely. His place is extremely lucrative. I am told that Sir John Dick, one of his predecessors, cleared no less than 50,000*l.* by a commission for victualling the Russian fleet in the last Turkish war, given him by Count Orloff, who made use of his house when he lay at Leghorn. His mode of obtaining this is still represented here as a fine stroke of policy. It was in a manner determined that one Fraink, a German merchant, should have this employment ; but Sir John, knowing the fastidious and vain character of Orloff, fitted up a large house in the most elegant English style, dividing it into summer and winter apartments. The bait took ; the Russian gave it the preference to Mr. Fraink's, and its owner the very lucrative commission to which I have alluded.

Good bye.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

Rome, Nov. 25th, 1787.

WE were much pleased with the country between Leghorn and Sienna, which is hilly and cultivated ; but the prospect did not compensate for the disappointment and delay that we experienced on the road. Our countrymen at Florence had gone for Rome on the morning that we left Pisa, and as their carriages were numerous, they did not leave a single post-horse ; we were therefore obliged to creep on part of the way with a melancholy pair just taken from the plough, which retarded our arrival at Sienna to ten at night. The next morning we were delighted with the situation and general appearance of the place. The cathedral (as it usually happens in provincial towns) is the most interesting object ; being coated with slabs of

black and white marble, and ornamented with columns of porphyry, verde antique, &c.

It seems to be a received opinion, that every country has a particular city in it, eminent above others for the purity and just pronunciation of its language. I know not that this is so in England, but in Italy, Germany, and France, it certainly is. In the first Sienna is distinguished on this account. Indeed, except in Tuscany and at Rome, the Italian language is so corrupt, that the best educated people of one state would not, without difficulty, understand those of another. At Florence it is correctly spoken, but ill pronounced; for the letter *C* is generally sounded as a guttural, in the same manner as the Greek *x* ought to be. A Florentine would pronounce the two first lines of Tasso, as if written

Xanto l'arme pietose e'l Xapitano
Xhe'l gran sepolxro liberó di Xristo.

But

But at Sienna they speak the language of Florence with the Roman utterance, or *La lingua Fiorentina in bocca Romana*. There, the conversation of the *common* people seems, as it were, formed on the model of the best authors. It would consequently be a more proper place for the academy della Crusca than the capital, in which all the resident members of that once respectable society adopt the local pronunciation.

We were two days and a half on the road between Sienna and Rome. The first night we lay in the palace of Radicofani, which is precisely what credulity and superstition would call a haunted house,—a lofty and extensive building, situate near the summit of rocky mountains almost bare of vegetation. In it are long and dismal passages, and a labyrinth of naked rooms, through which reigns continual silence, unless when interrupted by the hollow roar of winds, or the clattering of shutters. I wandered over the whole, and each dreary chamber seemed

“By many a foul and midnight murder fed.

The accommodation of this caravanserais was, as we expected, correspondent to its appearance; however, we happily found a large quantity of dry wood, which made a good fire, and after a most insufficient supper of hot water soup, an animal which I would hope, if not believe, was a starved rabbit, and macaroni, we bolted the door of our apartment, dragged our beds to the fire, and slept in our cloaths till day-light. Near this place is the little village of Chiufi, formerly Clusium, the capital of Porsenna's kingdom. We found no object that particularly engaged our attention between Radicofani and Viterbo, except the Volfinian lake, now Il Lago di Bolsena. This pleasing piece of water is thirty miles in circumference, and at present, as in the elder days of Rome (when frequented for its cool and silent retirement from the noise and hurry of the forum) overhung with groves of oak and ilex. We lay that night at Viterbo, and, proceeding the next morning, travelled

travelled through a country that was not beautiful, but highly interesting, from having been the school of Roman patriotism and enterprize, wherein that republic, from the conquest of these little states, learnt to subdue the world. Over the same ground as we passed, how often have the legions, when virtue and simplicity were their characteristic qualities, returned from victory? and, on the contrary, when universal conquest had introduced corruption, luxury, and effeminacy, how often have their degenerate sons waited in fearful suspense the approach of the northern world, marching by the same route to the plunder of the capital? Every hill, from its vicinity, seemed to indicate, that on its summit had been stationed horsemen to watch the progress of the Barbarian invaders, increasing by their report the panick of the defenceless city. With these, and many other reflections of the same nature, did we amuse ourselves, when looking forward, at length the gilded cross of St. Peter (which from the sun's radiance shone with all the lustre
of

of a meteor) appeared. The nearer we came to Rome, the more our attention was engaged with the surrounding objects, and every thing pleased us; though, on sober reflection, I believe, our imaginations more than once raised buildings that never had existed, and converted the remains of a cottage into the ruins of a temple—a trifling fault, if attributed to no small stock of enthusiasm. On passing the Ponte-mola, or Pons-milvius, we looked down upon the same Tyber that Constantine saw, when he pursued Maxentius over this bridge, and in a few minutes entered Rome by the Flaminian gate, now called Il Porto del Popolo.

The modern city, which stands on the Campus Martius, &c. is thirteen miles in circumference, and supposed to contain 160,000 inhabitants. To facilitate the attempt of giving you a cursory description of it, and the remains of ancient Rome, I have arranged the many subjects which have principally engaged our attention, and shall present them to you in the same order

der as they appeared to us. We began with things of modern date ; but to confess the truth, though these were inexpressibly interesting, we could not withstand the temptation of our vicinity to the seven hills, but occasionally wandered among their august and venerable ruins. I think no city in its general appearance can unite more magnificence and poverty than this ; as adjoining the most superb palaces, we see the meanest habitations ; and temples, the boasted ornaments of antiquity, choked up by sheds and cottages. From the drawings I had seen of this place, I expected to find the streets at least as broad as in London, but was disappointed. Il Corso, the principal and most admired, is little more so than St. Martin's lane ; but this mode of building their streets so narrow, is done with the view of intercepting, as much as possible, the sun's heat ; it is a custom transmitted from the ancient Romans, and I believe (even in despite of such authority as Homer to the contrary) that the Greeks and all the southern nations adopted

adopted it, as the consequent of necessity, not choice. The squares are neither numerous nor well-built, but the public fountains have great beauty and grandeur; the most remarkable are those of Navonna, Pauli, Trevi, and St. Peter's.

The superb basilick of St. Peter's is the largest building that ever existed; as neither the temple of Jerusalem, nor those of Ephesus, Eleusis, or of Olympian Jupiter at Athens, could (from what history has recorded of them) be ranked with it in this respect.

The semicircular colonnades that inclose its spacious court: the Egyptian obelisk in the center brought from Heliopolis to Rome by Caligula: and the before-mentioned fountains on each side, which continually throw up columns of water sufficient to fill the bed of a small river, are the grandest objects of the kind I ever beheld. The front of this edifice is generally thought less noble than that of St. Paul's in London, which

which was built in imitation of St. Peter's, and indeed I am of this opinion; but when I view the whole crowned with its majestic dome 617 feet in circumference, I am so convinced of its general superiority, that I would not derogate from St. Paul's, by an injudicious comparison of their appearance. The pediment of the portico is supported by twelve columns, over which is an open gallery, where the Pope in passion week pronounces, during a short and awful interval of silence from the din of cannon, bells, drums, and musical instruments, his solemn benediction to the multitude below him. Though we gazed with singular astonishment and delight on the exterior of this august temple, yet we were, if possible, more charmed with its inside. In its different parts, though of immense magnitude, the most exact proportion is observed. The form is that of a right-angled cross, on the intersection of which, and immediately under the dome, stands the high altar, covered with a superb baldachin, or canopy of bronze, which is supported by four twisted pillars

pillars of the same metal. This though ninety feet in height, seems low, from the very superior elevation of the roof ; before it, is the descent to the sacred grottos, or ground-work of the old church. There, in long and gloomy alleys, they shewed us by torch-light the tombs of former Popes ; these caverns were so little interesting, that I believe we shall not make them a second visit, and yet I received some pleasure in contemplating an urn of oriental granate, that holds the ashes of Adrian the IVth, *because he was an Englishman*, and the only one that ever ascended the apostolical throne. His name was Nicholas Brakespear, of Langley in Hertfordshire. He was elected Pope in 1154, the same year as Henry the III. was crowned king of England.

The paintings of St. Peter's are not (as we expected) of the first class ; but to supply the defect, they have put up copies of the best, in Mosaic—an art brought to perfection at Rome, as the pictures from Raphael's transfiguration, and the archangel Michael

Michael, by Guido, fully prove. There are here confessionary boxes, wherein the priests of, I believe, every nation in Europe, attend daily at a certain hour, to hear and absolve all comers. The language of each box is written over it in Italian, as *Pella lingua Tedesca, Spagnuola, Inglese, &c.* The monuments too are remarkable for their designs and sculpture. Among many we particularly noticed that of Christina queen of Sweden (on which is represented in bas relief her abjuration of the Protestant religion) and another of Maria Clementina Sobieski, mother of the present pretender. The epitaph calls her *Regina di Inghilterra*. But the most extraordinary object in this place is a brazen image of St. Peter in a sitting attitude, being an idol of general veneration. The Pope worships it every day between twelve and one. I have often been a spectator of this most ridiculous ceremony. He enters the church, attended by certain officers of his household, and, having crossed himself with holy water, walks up to the statue, where in suppliant posture

posture he repeats a prayer, then putting his bare head under the foot which projects over the pedestal, prays again to his metallic divinity ; this done, he kisses the toe, and departs, blessing the people who kneel around him. I of course supposed that this miracle working image was a celestial gift, but to my utter astonishment learnt, that the composition was, before it received its fascinating form, part of the well known statue of Jupiter Capitolinus——alas ! alas ! would it had ever been so !

I am so enraptured with this superb building, that I generally visit it every day ; the warmth on going into it from the cold, is one of the most agreeable sensations I ever experienced, a sensation that I should suppose can be exceeded only by its cool air, during the dog days of an Italian summer. I concluded that this change was occasioned by artificial heat, but am informed to the contrary : however, I do not give this intelligence the most implicit credence.

When

When we had seen and reseen every thing that the aisles and chapels contained, we ascended to the top, though not without some difficulty and danger. There, we had (as you will imagine) the finest bird's-eye view in the world, the height from its court being 471 feet. In descending, we visited the whispering gallery, and a variety of other places into which our guides conducted us.

The next church I shall notice is St. John di Lateran, so called from standing on the site of a palace that belonged to the Laterani, an old Roman family; one of whom, Plautius, was put to death by Nero for a supposed conspiracy against him. In 314 the emperor Constantine erected a church and palace here, and is reported (though with as much truth I suppose, as that St. Peter resided twenty-three years at Rome) to have received baptism in it from the hands of St. Silvester. By this circumstance, whether real or fictitious, St. John di Lateran ranks as first of the Latin

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churches. The Pope, soon after his election, takes personal possession of it, as the cathedral of Rome. It is styled *Ecclesiarum, Urbis et Orbis, Mater et Caput*,* and held in singular veneration. In the square or place before it, is raised the largest of the Egyptian obelisks in this city. It is one entire piece of red granate full of hieroglyphics, and supposed to have been placed in a temple of the sun at Thebes 1577 years antecedent to the Christian æra, by Rameses-Miamum, who, according to Archbishop Usher, was the Pharaoh of Scripture. By the orders of Constantine and his son Constantius, it was with extreme difficulty brought from Egypt to Rome, and erected in the Circus maximus, whence it was removed by that great man Pope Sixtus the Vth to its present situation. It measures without the base 115 feet, but was considerably higher; of such magnitude indeed, that Augustus Cæsar thought it impossible to transport it to Rome†.

* The Mother and Head of the Churches of the City and of the World.

† See Pliny, Lib. 36. Cap. 8, 9.

The columns, fonts, and part of the pavement in this church, are of the most rare and precious marbles. The altar is covered with a canopy of gilded bronze, supported by four channelled columns of the same metal, taken, alas, from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Its treasures were very considerable, but are now no more, yet there is still what is infinitely more valued than the largest masses of gold and silver, namely, a collection of the most wonderful relics. As they were repeated to us, I took the liberty of inscribing them in my pocket-book, and these are the most remarkable.

“ The staircase of Pontius Pilate’s palace, by which our Saviour ascended to the judgment hall.”

“ The table on which he ate the last supper with his disciples.”

“ A tooth (I believe a *jaw* tooth) of St. Peter.”

“ The skull of a certain Saint Pancrati-
us, who sweated blood three days and three

Z 2

nights

nights during the conflagration of this church, when set on fire by heretics."

"A gown of the Virgin Mary."

"A cloak of our Saviour."

"The napkin with which he wiped the apostles feet."

"The purple garment, in which the Jews clothed him before his crucifixion."

"A large piece of the *true* cross, and as many more of these rarities as would fill a storehouse."

The original palace adjoining the church was the pontifical residence, till the removal of the see to Avignon in 1305, but is now never occupied as such.

The other churches most deserving of attention are, the Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santa Maria degli Angeli. The latter belongs to a Carthusian monastery, and is built where the celebrated baths of Dioclesian stood, in form of a Greek cross, designed by Michael Angelo Buonarotti. If I except St. Peter's there is no church
in

in Rome that pleases me so much as this. It is not, as they generally are, gorgeous from a profusion of paintings, velvet hangings, and marbles; but the plan, and noble simplicity of its architecture charm me beyond expression, and make me often revisit its silent walls. Here let me conclude the article of churches; for to proceed would be an endless labour, there being from three to four hundred at Rome, many of which we have visited with pleasure.

And now I shall introduce you to the Vatican, the largest palace in Christendom, said to contain 13,000 chambers and closets. It stands close to St. Peter's, the perspective of which (I should have before observed) loses much of its effect by their junction, as the exterior of the Vatican but ill accords with the grand and regular appearance of the church; being an immense pile of building without order, raised by different architects, and at different times. The principal entrance is from the court of St.

Peter's, up a noble staircase, guarded by Swiss soldiers, who, like the Beef-eaters of England, retain their ancient dress, which is of singular appearance. Near the landing-place, is a chapel built from a design of Baccio Fintelli, by Pope Sixtus the IVth in 1473, from whom it was called La Cappella Sestina; it is remarkable for a famous picture by Buonarrotti, that occupies one end of it, representing the last judgment. There probably never was such a production of original and extravagant genius as this painting; the design, various groups of figures, attitudes, anatomy, expression, and deep colouring of the whole, are inconceivably striking. The eye is weary in examining this singular work; it therefore raises my wonder, that Michael Angelo could persevere to the completion of it; for genius is generally impatient, and unable to dwell long upon the same subject.

The library of this palace is supposed to contain the most numerous and valuable collection of books, &c. in the world. On
going

going into it, we looked up an immense room, which had little the appearance of what it is, the volumes being shut up in armories. It is said to contain 120,000 in printed and manuscript; but this assertion I disbelieve. We found many of them rare and curious, particularly two bibles, one of the sixth century; and another remarkably large, which had belonged to the dukes d'Urbino, of whom the Jews at Venice would have bought it for its weight in gold; the work of Henry the VIIIth on the seven sacraments, and his original letters to Anne Bolleyn: several literary compositions on Papyrus, &c. &c. There are also Etruscan vases, gems, medals, bronzes, and a variety of other curiosities. I was surprised to find no other people than the librarians here, especially as it is open every morning in the week (Sundays and holidays excepted) for all who wish to read or transcribe.

The next thing I shall mention to you is what I most admire and most lament—the

mouldering fresco-paintings of Raphael. In the principal court-yard of the Vatican are three galleries, one above another; in the lowest of which the conclaves are held. Their cielings are painted from the designs of this unequalled master, and some parts he painted himself. From the second we entered a suite of apartments, three of which were *for the most part* done by him, and one *entirely*; wherein we saw his school of Athens; which, though in decay, is still *the best picture in the world*.—Do you recollect my mention of its cartoon in the Boromèan museum at Milan? I have often on viewing the works of these great painters, lamented, that their genius should, from the narrow and bigot temper of their own times, be entirely confined to religious subjects, and wished much to see the illustrious actions of antiquity represented by their pencils. The school of Athens, in great measure, reaches this idea; for although Raphael, without any regard to time or place, has here introduced philosophers, &c. who lived in different centuries and countries,

tries, yet, the subject is as interesting as can be chosen. The scene is in a portico at Athens; upon the steps in the center of which, are two of the most venerable and majestic figures I ever saw, intended for Plato and Aristotle, who are reasoning before their respective disciples, ranged on each side of them, and listening with all the attention and wonder that such profound wisdom and eloquence would naturally create. Near this group are Socrates and Alcibiades; the former seems to be winding up his arguments to a conclusion, and the latter charmed and convinced by their simplicity and truth. Sitting on the steps, and alone, is the Cynic Diogenes, intent upon a book before him; and besides these, we discover Periander, Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Empedocles, and many other great men, all in employments or attitudes descriptive of what they professed and taught. As disciples, Raphael has represented Ferdinand the II^d duke of Milan, and Francis di Rovere duke d'Urbino, together with his master Pietro Perugino, and himself. In his
face,

face, though simple, I perceived traits of that divine genius which he possessed. Day after day have I examined this picture, and tried to discover some defective part, but in vain, every thing I see in it convinces me that nothing of the kind was ever superior, nor I believe equal, since the age of Pericles.

I shall conclude this letter with the Clementine museum, a collection of the most exquisite sculpture in the world, begun by the great and good Ganganelli, from whose assumed name of Clement it was called. It stands at the extremity of a corridor, from five to six hundred paces in length, and near that part of the Vatican called Il Belvedere, from its rich and extensive view over Rome, the Tyber, and the surrounding country. On entering it, the first object that presented itself was the tomb of Pub. Cn. Scipio, found in the vault of that illustrious family lately discovered near Rome. The characters on it are extremely rude—a strong proof of the little progress refinement had made among the Romans at that

that time. Near it is a famous trunk of Hercules, called Il torso; which, when whole, must have been a statue of the first class, as the body is one of the finest pieces of sculpture I ever saw, but the Laocoon and Apollo prevented our examining these, and many other statues of the collection as much as we wished; having the same effect on us as the magnet on the needle. The first Michael Angelo calls a prodigy of art, and so indeed it is. Pliny too speaks of it as wonderful*. But what must the Apollo be? If some convent had gotten possession of this statue when first discovered, and declared it to have fallen from heaven into their church, the declaration would be received with more faith than the many falsehoods of this nature, which are told of their worm-eaten images, as the perfection of the sculpture would give an air of probability to the assertion. I assure you that

* He says it was formed out of one stone by three Rhodians, Agefander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus.

See his description of it in the 5th Chap. of his thirty-sixth book of Natural History.

since

since I have seen it, my ideas of man have been considerably raised, to find him capable of reaching such excellence in the art of imitation, or I should rather say in forming a marble image that far exceeds any thing human. I am sure the statues of Prometheus were never more calculated to excite the jealousy and resentment of Jupiter than this, as it really appears to be a work beyond the reach of art—something divine. The deity is (as I think) represented in act of slaying the Cyclops with his arrows. The attitude, proportion, stature, and countenance, (in the last of which appear extreme manly beauty, dignity, resentment, contempt, and triumph) are so rendered, as not only to defy the slightest objection of criticism, but that even all the united powers of conception and art could not give it any additional beauty. After this statue and the Laocoon are the Meleager, Antinous, and Cleopatra, which you would idolize in England, besides busts of Jupiter, Homer, &c. and little images of birds and beasts finished to perfection.

Such

Such is the Vatican, which contains the best sculpture, the best paintings, and the best library in the world; to which if you add its situation, command of prospect, and St. Peter's church, will you not, when all these, with many secondary items are considered, allow that few places can be equally interesting to a *liberal* mind? but this is an unnecessary question to one who is so fully in possession of that blessing.

So adieu.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

Rome, Dec. 8th, 1787.

WE have seen so many palaces since I last wrote to you, that I find it as impracticable to enter on their separate description, as it was to send you a detail of the several churches in this city. However, it will be necessary to make some mention of them, because they are in every respect the most magnificent and interesting in the world. The first we visited after the Vatican, was that of Il Monte Cavallo, which the Pope makes his summer residence. It stands on the Mons Quirinus, one of the most elevated spots in Rome, and consequently less within the reach of the noxious vapours, which exhale, in that season, from the marshes and flats of the environs. Though not half as roomy as the Vatican, the apartments are very numerous and well-pro-

proportioned; but in their furniture we were disappointed, if I except the pictures, of which there is a very noble collection. Many of them were put there by the present pontiff, who is a dilettante of the first order. Before the palace is a large square, in which are the two celebrated Colossean horses and their managers in white marble, each supposed to be a representation of Alexander and Bucephalus, done by Phidias and Praxiteles in emulation of each other; but unfortunately for this conjecture Phidias lived near a century antecedent to the time of Alexander and Praxiteles. I am rather inclined to think them the work of the same artist, who, whether either of the above named, or any other, merits infinite praise for their bold design and beauty of execution. They were brought from Greece by Constantine, and put in his baths, whence they were removed to this place by Pope Sixtus the Vth, and raised on two lofty pedestals under the direction of the architect Fontana. Their forged inscriptions, *Opus Phidiæ*, and *Opus Praxitelis*,
have

have propagated the error of their origin :
In another place we read

Sixtus V. PONT. MAX.

Colossæa hæc signa, temporis vi deformata restituit, veteribusque repositis inscriptionibus, e proximis Constantineanis Thermis, in quirinalem aream transtulit.

An. Sal. MDLXXXIX*.

Near this is the palace of Rospigliosi, which contains many valuable pictures, but the most remarkable is the Aurora of Guido, painted on the ceiling of a summer-house. It represents the god of day guiding the chariot of the sun up the ascent of heaven, drawn by four celestial couriers abreast, preceded by Cupid and Aurora, and attended on each side by the happy hours, represent-

* The Sovereign Pontiff Sixtus Vth.

Restored these Colossæan statues injured by time, and having renewed their ancient inscriptions, removed them from the adjoining Thermæ of Constantine, to the Quirinal square.

In the year of grace 1589.

ed

ed as beautiful nymphs, whose hands gracefully linked together are emblematic of the uninterrupted lapse of time. The whole is so wonderfully conceived, grouped, and finished, as to seem actually mounting on the clouds. The same subject has been painted in a villa near Rome by Guercino, but the picture is very inferior to this. The palace Farnese and Villa Medici have been stripped of their invaluable collections by the king of Naples and the grand duke of Tuscany, to whom they devolved by succession, but the loss is scarcely perceived in a city so opulent in every production of the liberal arts as Rome. The superb houses of Colonna, Doria, Borghese, Justiniani, Mattei, Barbarini, Spada, and many others, are full of the most exquisite sculpture and painting, besides collections of intaglios, cameos, bronzes, medals, &c. &c. in so much, that a house, even of the second order here, is more deserving of regard in this respect, than the splendid castle of Versailles. The first of these is supposed to contain the best private gallery of pictures

in the world, though I must say I prefer that of Doria. As you express a wish to know the paintings which please me most, I shall observe, that in the Altieri palace are two landskips by Claude, the most charming imitation of rural nature I ever saw. In one, this great artist has introduced the landing of Æneas in Italy, and in the other a pastoral sacrifice. If such historical scenes were always represented in landskip painting, how much more interesting would they make the pictures, than what they generally are? They would be if well done) like the poetry of Milton set to the musick of Handel. Among those of the Prince Borghese, I most admired a Macchiavel and Cæsar Borgia by Titian; the last Supper by Caravaggio: and a portrait of the same Borgia by Raphael. In the palace Justiniani, Christ before Pilate, by Hundtorst, here called Gherardo delle Notte, from his pictures being generally night-scenes. In the Mattei collection, a St. Peter half length, by Guido: Judas betraying Christ, by Gherardo delle Notte, and

and the woman taken in adultery, brought before our Saviour, by Pietro da Cortona. These, and at least twenty more in the different galleries, &c. are inexpressibly striking, and consequently have engaged much of our attention. In the Spada palace is the Colossean statue of Pompey, under which Cæsar fell when slain by the conspirators—

“ Even at the base of Pompey’s statue,

“ Which all the while ran blood.”

The prince Borghese is the most opulent of the Roman nobility; exclusive of his magnificent palace he has a villa near the city, the contents of which are invaluable. It was built by the cardinal Scipio, nephew of Paul the Vth, the founder of the family, and is surrounded by pleasure grounds three miles in circumference. The front is ornamented, or, I would rather say, crowded with bassi and alti relievi of Grecian sculpture. As I should tire both you and myself, were I to go into a description of the statues we saw there, I shall only observe that a

Curtius plunging on horseback into the gulph in alto rilievo : a soldier (and not I think, as some suppose, a gladiator) rushing forward to the onset of a battle : a Silenus holding the infant Bacchus in his arms : an Hermaphrodite, and dying Seneca, are in my opinion only inferior to the Apollo, the Venus *di Medici*, and the Laocoon. Nor is the *Villa Albani* less remarkable than this. The collection of sculpture, &c. is indeed larger, but I think not so interesting. It was begun and completed by the Cardinal Alexander Albani, a man of singular taste, and arranged by that first of antiquarians Winkelman. On seeing it we lamented that so many wonders were assembled in the same place, and wished there had been less to examine. The former of these villas is under the direction of Mr. Moore, an English painter, whose picture (you may remember) pleased me so much in the Florentine gallery ; and he seems to have arranged every thing to the greatest advantage, but unfortunately the prince, who has not the least judgment in things
of

of this nature, frequently interferes, and introduces what he considers amendments to the collection, but which in reality are only proofs of his utter want of taste. As an instance of this, in the center of one of the apartments, is a piece of sculpture by Bernini, representing Apollo and Daphne at the moment that he reaches her, and she is metamorphosed into a laurel: In the same room is a landskip done by Mr. Moore, in which the prince thought it would be *very clever* to introduce an imitation of this sculpture. Moore (as I hear) not only expostulated with him on the glaring absurdity of such an idea, but absolutely refused to comply with his request. This, however, did not prevent the execution of his design; for he employed a miserable dawber, who has inserted the Apollo and Daphne, and ruined the landskip. Exclusive of these are several other villas, which we have seen; but I shall pass them over in silence, as I apprehend I have already been rather tedious upon the subject.

On the banks of the Tyber, and on the same side of it as St. Peter's, is the castle of St. Angelo, built on the foundation of the emperor Adrian's mausolæum, which was once so remarkable for its columns, its statues, and its Parian marble. Now there are no other remains of its grandeur than a ball of bronze in the Vatican, which crowned its cupola, and is supposed to have incurred the ashes of its imperial founder. The present building was first used as a place of defence by Boniface the XIth, and strengthened by many of his successors, particularly by Alexander the VIth, who built a gallery of communication between it and the Vatican for his personal safety. It assumed the name of St. Angelo, from a circumstance which you may either reject or credit when told.

In the pontificate of Gregory the first, styled (I know not why) the Great, that is about the year 600, a most destructive pestilence raged at Rome. The pope, the cardinals, and all the clergy had long endeavoured

deavoured to avert the calamity by prayer; but so ineffectually, that the people despaired of relief, and resigned themselves to fate. At this crisis an angel appeared with a naked sword on the top of the castle, and there sheathed it, as an indication that the plague should cease from that moment, and so I suppose it did; for a statue of this angel was erected on the same place, and is still there to perpetuate the memory of the miracle.

The castle of St. Angelo is used as a state prison. In one of its apartments we saw the armour of the celebrated General Bourbon, who was killed in scaling the walls of Rome, A. D. 1527, and weapons, with which several remarkable assassinations had been perpetrated. I took up a stiletto, and enquiring into the history of it, was told it was the same that the young and beautiful Beatrice Cenci had given to her father's murderers. As you probably have never heard this tale of horror, I will relate the particulars, which I had lately the curiosity

to collect. It happened in the year 1598. The father, Francis Cenci, was descended of an illustrious family, and one of the most opulent noblemen of Rome, but of a disposition so depraved, that human nature shudders at the recital of his iniquity, and shrinks from the reflection. He was twice married; by his first wife he had five sons and two daughters. The sons he treated with extreme cruelty; and the elder daughter he would have debauched, had she not petitioned the Pope, who compelled him to bestow her in marriage. Thus disappointed of his diabolical design upon *her*, he determined to attempt the *other*, before she had arrived at those years, in which reason might operate as an impediment to the deed. He did so, and by persuading her that the action was not criminal, unhappily succeeded. So abandoned was this monster of impiety, that he frequently committed the incest in his wife's presence. By her the daughter was made sensible of her criminality, and ever after refused to comply with his request. Her father then
proceeded

proceeded to exact by beating what he had before obtained by seduction. The unhappy Beatrice, to withdraw herself from his brutality, had recourse to the same expedient which had preserved her sister's innocence, and presented a remonstrance to the Pope—Clement the VIIIth; but had not the same success, it being either neglected or forgotten. In this helpless situation, stung with remorse for the abominable crime she had committed, and continually urged to a repetition of it, she could devise no other means of avoiding the incestuous commerce, than by taking the life of her seducer. For this purpose she entered into a conspiracy with her step-mother, her elder brother James, and a certain Monsignor Guerra, a dignitary of the church, and hired two assassins, named Olympio and Martino, who were to receive each a thousand crowns for the murder. It was accordingly committed on the 9th of September 1598, at a family seat near Rome. The bravoës were introduced into the old man's chamber (for he was then seventy years of age) at night,

night, where they dispatched him with the dagger I have already mentioned. The next morning it was reported he had died suddenly; and, as there was no suspicion of the contrary, he was buried without examination. Some time after the interment the widow of the deceased sent a bundle of foul linen to a washerwoman in the neighbourhood, not having examined the contents, from the supposition that her step-daughter had done it: among these were the bloody sheets in which the late murder had been committed. They were immediately sent to Rome, and in consequence all the Cenci family confined. Monsignor Guerra fled on the first report of this proceeding; but Olympio having given some cause of suspicion was apprehended, and immediately made a deposition of the whole. The judges, however, not satisfied with this, determined to extort confession by the rack from the step-mother, the elder son, and Beatrice. With the two former they easily succeeded, but the most excruciating torments could not overcome the silence of the latter,

latter, until confronted by the testimony of Olympio, and the declaration of her relatives, she was at length persuaded to acknowledge herself an accomplice in the crime. On this, the Pope condemned them to be dragged to death at the tails of three wild horses, but deferred the execution 115 days, in which time the many powerful applications made in their behalf would probably have procured them a pardon, had not the murder of the noble Roman lady Santa-Croce by her own son determined him to make an example of the Cenci. He was, however, persuaded to alter their sentence. On Saturday the 11th of September, 1599, a scaffold was raised on the Ponte Sant. Angelo, the common place of execution, to which the women were first conducted in funeral procession, and beheaded amidst the tears and groans of thousands. After them the elder brother was led out and deprived of life by the blow of a club; but the misfortunes of the Cenci did not end here; for the younger sons, though innocent, were deprived of their virility; and, the exten-

five

five property of their house confiscated by Paul the Vth (a Borgheſe) to enrich his family, which, as I have before told you, is the moſt wealthy in Rome.* Was this laſt deed leſs iniquitous than the parricide? In their poſſeſſion is the portrait of the ill-fated Beatrice, painted during her confinement by Guido, and I think I never ſaw a countenance leſs guilty or more beautiful.

Having now done with the modern buildings of Rome, I come, and with extreme pleaſure, to thoſe that were its chief ornament in the days of its greateſt power and refinement. Temples, &c. that drew from our own Silurian prince Caractacus that fine exclamation on the ambitious ſpirit of conqueſt in the Romans, recorded by Tacitus in his annals. Of all the ſquares or places in the world, the moſt magnificent was the Campus Martius. Livy ſays it belonged to the Tarquinian family, and was conſecrated to Mars, from whom it was named. ſituate between the city and the Tyber, it

* This was the only motive that induced his Holineſs to extirpate the Cenci.

was at first used as the Palæstra, or martial seminary, in which the Roman youth inured themselves, by bathing and military exercises, to sustain the hardships of war. In the course of time it was ornamented with some of the noblest structures of Rome, such as the mausolæum of Augustus : the pantheon : the forum and column of Antoninus Pius : the porticos of Europa, Neptune, and Pompey : the baths of Adrian and Agrippa : the Circus agonis : theatre of Marcellus, and the famous solar obelisk brought (as Pliny relates) from Egypt to Rome by Augustus, which measured 116 English feet in height, and served to mark the hours and length of days, on a dial of black marble at its base. I think the same author observes, that in his time (about a century after its erection) the shadow of this obelisk had varied, and was false to the figures of the dial, but he does not assign any reason for this extraordinary change. The ruins of many of these edifices are still extant, particularly of the mausolæum of Augustus, and theatre of Marcellus; but they

they are so choked up with modern building, as to preclude any satisfactory examination.

Among the columns of this city, the most beautiful and interesting is that of Trajan, now seen in a place called from it, La Piazza Colonna. It was erected by the senate and Roman people, in honour of that most excellent emperor, in the center of his forum. On it are represented in bas-relief, admirably sculptured, his Dacian expeditions, and indeed all his other public triumphs, sacrifices, &c. I may venture to assert, that Rome never possessed a more magnificent, nor posterity a more useful monument for the encrease of science than Trajan's column, as it is a faithful representation of the dresses, arms, processions and ceremonies of the ancients. On the summit was the emperor's statue 18 feet in height, holding a sceptre and globe; in the latter of which were deposited his ashes. The column consists of 34 pieces of marble, in which were cut a winding staircase of
184 steps.

184 steps. It has 43 windows, is 128 feet in height, comprehending a statue of *St. Peter* on the top, six and a half in diameter, and the figures of the relief exceed five thousand. Of the forum, that superb edifice erected by the Grecian architect Apollodorus, there are no remains.

Antonine's pillar, though very inferior to this, of which it might be called an humble imitation, is nevertheless a very noble object. It was erected by Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, in honour of Antoninus Pius, whose sons they were by adoption, as the inscription indicates.

Divo Antonino, Augusto, Pio;
Antoninus Augustus, et Verus
Augustus filii*.

The pantheon seems as gifted by all the gods to whom it was dedicated, with im-

* Antoninus Augustus, and Verus Augustus, the sons;
To the God Antoninus, Augustus, Pius.

mortality;

mortality ; as neither fire, nor the mouldering breath of time, neither the ravages of barbarian conquerors, nor the bigotry of more barbarian Popes, have reduced it to ruin. Were I the successor of St. Peter, I would write on it in golden characters :

*Quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum*.*

It was built by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, and called Pantheon, from the universality of its celestial dedication. The ascent to it was originally by seven steps, but the ground on which Rome stood being raised from 12 to 30 feet by its ruins, for several ages it was entered by a descent of 13 steps ; but Alexander the Seventh caused the earth that surrounded it to be removed, so that the exterior surface is now

Imitated.

- * Which eating storms, or impotent south wind,
With the long lapse of countless years combined,
Can never wear away.

upon

upon a level with its floor. Its majestic portico has 16 columns, with Corinthian capitals; the first of these (one intire piece of oriental granate) is 36 feet in height, and 15 in circumference. On the architrave is the following inscription.

M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM.
FECIT.*

The form of this temple is circular; the dome (imitated by all modern architects as the first and best of models) is in dimensions rather less than St. Peter's. I am informed that its diameter is 146 feet, and its height the same. Having no windows, the light enters by a round aperture at the top, under which, on the pavement of the temple, is a sink to carry off the rain. Though I discredit the assertion, that it was tiled with silver, and coated on the inside with the same metal, yet it certainly was immensely rich, particularly in sculpture.

* Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius, who was thrice Consul, erected it.

VOL. I.

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Among

Among the statues, that of Venus wore the companion of the celebrated pearl which Cleopatra, to exceed the profusion of Anthony, dissolved in vinegar (as reported) and drank to him at a banquet. The elder Pliny observes, that the prodigal Egyptian was preparing to consume the other in the same manner, but prevented by L. Plancius, who, to save it, declared that she had fully accomplished her design. Augustus had it sawed in two, to make ear-rings for his Venus, and it was valued at 125,000l.* Another remarkable statue in the pantheon was that of Minerva in ivory, the work of Phidias, which was probably destroyed for its matter. The majestic beauty and solidity of this edifice must strike the most indifferent beholder. Though pillaged of its principal ornaments, it still retains a superb gate of bronze: pillars of Giallo-antico—that most precious of marbles, and others from the distant quarries of Numidia. It was repaired by Adrian, Marcus Aurelius, and

* See Pliny, Book 9th, Chap. 35.

Septimius Severus; the first of whom covered the whole with bronze, of which it was plundered by his Holiness Urban the VIIIth, to supply the castle of St. Angelo with cannon, the high altar of St. Peter's with its twisted columns, &c. and himself with money. The metal weighed 4,500,273lb. In the year 607 it was converted into a Christian church by Boniface the IVth, who being resolutely determined that its new patrons should exceed the number of the old, dedicated it to all the Martyrs, and in consequence called it Sancta Maria ad Martyres; but Gregory the IVth went still farther, and added to them all the saints of the Roman calendar. About the year 630 it was robbed of its statues, &c. by the Greek emperor Constantine the II^d, since which period, it has suffered many indignities, one indeed as late as the pontificate of Benedict the XIVth, who white-washed its venerable cupola. However, its having been converted into a Christian church has certainly preserved it from ruin, for several Popes have repaired, and some enriched

it, particularly Boniface the IVth, who collected from the church-yards and charnel-houses of Rome, twenty-eight waggon loads of relics, and laid them under the high altar.

In it are the tombs of Raphael, Hannibal Caracci, and other renowned painters. On the monument of the former is the following admirable distich :

Hic ille est Raphael, timuit quo sospite, vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori*.

Adieu.

Imitated,

* Here Raphael lies, who could with nature vie,
To him, she fear'd to yield, with him, to die.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

Rome, Dec. 14th, 1787.

WHAT is there, my dear Sir, that can resist the desolation of ages? The Capitol, once the seat of universal empire, and fondly deemed co-eternal with time itself, hath now no monument of its former strength and beauty; its proud towers and battlements are gone down to the dust, and the ground which they occupied is no longer the same. So it is with that renowned bulwark, and so it shall be even with the pyramids of Egypt. Future travellers will visit the plains of ancient Memphis, and moralize upon their fallen grandeur. This celebrated rock, now called Il Campidoglio, stands between the ruins of Rome, and the Campus Martius, or modern city. Its staircase and superb buildings, designed by Buonarotti, I should greatly admire any where but *here*. Instead of

B b 3

them,

of them, I expected to find the remains of the Feretrian and Capitoline temples, &c, but being disappointed, am quite out of humour, and view all modern structure with anger and regret. At the bottom of the staircase are two sphynxes of Egyptian marble, or basalte, from the mouths of which flow fountains of clear water, and on the top the colosséan statues of Castor and Pollux, with their horses, the sculpture, Greek; on each side of these are two antique trophies of Marius admirably executed in marble. Having ascended, we entered an area, in the center of which is an equestrian statue in bronze of Marcus Aurelius—an object of universal admiration. The buildings on this area are the senatorial palace, that of the Conservatori, and the museum. The two latter are crowded with sculpture and paintings. Out of a thousand objects on which real virtuosi would gaze for ages, the most interesting to us were these. The column erected in the Forum Romanum, in honour of Duillius, who gained the first naval

naval victory over the Carthaginians * a Curtius leaping into the gulph in mezzo rilievo: a bronze statue of the wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus; which, though a master-piece of art, is less remarkable on that account, than for the very extraordinary anecdote which Cicero in his orations has given of it, viz. that when Cæsar was stabbed it was struck with lightning, the marks of which are as fresh upon it as if done at the present moment: the bust of Junius Brutus: four antique measures for wine, oil, and corn: a plan of ancient Rome on marble, found in the temple of Quirinus. The altars of the Winds, Neptune, and Tranquillity: a bust of Scipio Africanus: the Mosaic picture of the three pigeons and vase, which Pliny mentions as the work of Sosus of Pergamos† and the dying gladiator called Il Mirmillone. This statue has infinite merit. The wretched object whom it represents appears lying on the arena mortally wounded, and feebly

* Pliny, Book 34, Chap 5th.

† Book 36, Chap 25th.

supporting his weight upon his arm. His limbs are as finely formed as those of the Belviderean Apollo, but it is the countenance that is so wonderfully striking, for in it, shame, anger, and courage seem to contend with agony, and struggle against death.

On the right hand side, near the principal entrance of the Capitol, and not, as generally shewn under a small garden, is the Tarpeian rock, the scene of Manlius's glory and disgrace. The Roman people, when they condemned him to be thrown over it insulted the merit of his former achievement, and did an act of the most flagrant ingratitude. Such service as his deserved pardon for any offence; but had it not, that should never have been the mode of punishment; and Livy was of this opinion, when he says, "*Violatum Capitolum esse sanguine servatoris; nec diis cordi fuisse poenam ejus oblatam prope oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium essent.*"

essent*." I should suppose this precipice does not now exceed 50 feet in height ; it was then considerably more, for not only the ground below it is raised by the ruins of the surrounding buildings, but probably on the brink stood the lofty walls of the capitol.

You may conceive how very striking the contrast is between the former and actual state of this place, when I tell you, that on the site of that famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which the most sacred and precious deposits of the greatest nation of antiquity were guarded, is now seen a convent of poor friars, who subsist on alms. The golden statues of the presiding god, and of victory, are now succeeded by some paltry image of St. Francis ; and the spoils of the vanquished, by the offerings of superstition. In the senatorial palace is a

* The Capitol was violated by the blood of its protector, nor was it agreeable to the deities that they should behold the punishment of him by whom their temples had been rescued from the hands of the enemy.

tower, which commands an extensive view of ancient and modern Rome. Upon this I have remained many an hour in contemplation of the surrounding objects, and enjoying all that indescribable pleasure, which minds, enamoured of antiquity, are capable of receiving. Directly under me I looked down upon the Via sacra and Forum Romanum; but oh! how changed, how fallen from their former state; nevertheless, their ruins are still extant, to remind us of their ancient honours. The triumphal arch, erected for the victories of Septimius Severus over the Parthians, is directly below the Capitol, and almost entire, though above half buried in the ground. As I look down on the one side of this celebrated way, I behold the superb portico of a temple built in honour of Antoninus Pius and Faustina; and a little beyond it the remains of that erected by Vespasian after the Jewish war to the goddess of peace. Near it is the triumphal arch of Titus, the reliefs of which are not only remarkable for their masterly execution, but for representing

senting the tables of the commandments : the golden candlestick of seven branches : and the sacred vessels of the temple of Jerusalem : a little further is the arch of Constantine crowded with figures, many of which were taken from that of Titus, as is evident from the style and superior excellence of their sculpture. Within a few paces of this arch is the Flavian amphitheatre, so named from its founder the emperor Flavius Vespasianus, who employed 30,000 Hebrew slaves made prisoners at Jerusalem in its construction. I believe it to be the largest building of the kind in the world, as it contained sitting room for no less than 80,000 spectators.

The edifices of ancient Rome have been so stripped of their materials, that even their solid walls were perforated for the metal used in raising them. To the lover of antiquity it is melancholy to behold the numerous chasms, which the avarice of a people, who considered these buildings as monuments of Pagan impiety, has made.

The

The Flavian amphitheatre has not only been severely injured in this manner, but part of the building itself, when entire, was taken down by Paul the Second, to erect the palace of St. Mark. The cardinals Farnesé and Riario followed his example, and probably by this time there had been no remains of the majestic pile, if Clement the Vth. had not fortunately been informed that several Christians were exposed on the arena to beasts of prey. This prompted him to consecrate the place, but I still fear, that so great has been the devastation before this *pious* act, that in another century little more than the foundations will be seen.

To return by the Via sacra to my station on the tower of the senatorial palace; before me is Mount Palatine,* on which Evander, and in after ages a long succession

* From this hill, the habitations of kings, &c. were named Palatia,—Palaces.

of Roman emperors dwelt. It was most remarkable for the golden house of Nero, so called from its rich gilding, gems, and precious stones. This royal dwelling (than which antiquity can boast nothing more magnificent of the kind) was continued upon pillars over the interjacent vallies to the Celian and Esquiline hills. Its grand entrance was from the Via Sacra. Before it stood a marble colossus, the work of Zenodorus, that measured according to Pliny 110 feet; it was raised by Nero in honour of himself, whom it resembled in countenance; but was soon after the death of that monster dedicated by Vespasian to the Sun, and the head encircled with a glory of gilded bronze, the rays of which were seven yards in length. We saw the feet and hands of this remarkable statue in the palace of the Conservatori. The Palatine Hill is now so overgrown with briars, as to prevent our investigating the ground-work as much as we wished. Between it and the Capitoline was the Forum Romanum, which the elder Tarquin inclosed with noble porticoes.

coes. In it were temples, columns, and statues of illustrious citizens, and also the gulph which is fabulously reported to have closed, when Curtius, by plunging into it, gave himself as the most valuable sacrifice that could be made to effectuate this miracle. You may probably suppose that I believe all this, when I tell you, that we saw the spot where the pit was, or I should rather say, where it is reported to have been. Three pillars are now standing, which belonged to the colonnade of the Forum, and these very much surpass in height and beauty any thing we have hitherto seen. How grand the appearance when the whole was extant ! how correspondent to the majesty of the Roman people ! but alas, this valley, which was the most honourable part of ancient Rome, is now the most vile. Here, where not only the ambassadors of powerful monarchs, but even they themselves have sued for protection : where the decrees of popular assemblies have decided the fate of nations ; and in short, where every thing of the greatest moment was transacted, is
now

now heard the lowing of oxen. The Forum Romanum is the Smithfield of modern Rome, and the walls of those sacred edifices, which were more revered than any earthly object, are constantly polluted by the dung of cattle. Even the Temple of Concord, in which Cicero assembled the senate on the discovery of Cataline's conspiracy, and where the sentiments of Cæsar, of Cato, and of himself, were delivered on that subject, is made an occasional beast-house. I mention this as a striking instance of that change which ever has and ever will take place in all things temporal.

The Cloaca maxima, which Livy calls "Omnium purgamentorum receptaculum." and the elder Pliny so much admires for its solidity and strength (it having remained entire from the reign of Tarquinius Priscus to his time) is still unimpaired, though 2405 years have since elapsed. It is impossible to regard these stupendous vaults without astonishment. Some of them still serve as the common sewers of the city,

* Livy, Book 7th, cap. 6th.

and

and will, I dare assert it, exist, when the proud dome of St. Peter's shall have sunk under the hand of time.

West of Mount Palatine is the Circus Maximus, famous for the rape of the Sabine women, who effected an inseparable junction between their countrymen and ravishers, and brought forth a race of heroes for the defence of Rome. At the southern extremity of the circus were the baths of Caracalla, the ruins of which are still considerable. In buildings of this kind the Romans displayed their greatest magnificence; the known world being, as it were, ransacked for their embellishment. The most valuable gems: the richest marbles, and the best sculpture of Greece, are frequently found under them. They were so very extensive, that no less than 2300 persons could bathe at the same time in these of Caracalla, without seeing each other. Nor were those of Diocletian less sumptuous, or less ample. Exclusive of the ruins already noticed, are the aqueducts, those monuments

monuments of the opulence and patriotism of individuals : the catacombs, of which nothing certain can be determined with regard to their origin, as I little believe the idle legend of their having been formed by the primitive Christians of Rome during their persecution : the remains of many other temples, particularly of that consecrated to the god of ridicule, in memory of the sudden retreat of Hannibal from the place in which it was built near Rome : the fountain of the nymph Egeria, from whom Numa Pompilius pretended to have received the religious ceremonies which he instituted : the chamber or tomb of the campus sceleratus, in which those vestals, who had yielded their virginity, were buried alive ; the last of whom Livy informs us was Minutia* the ground work of the Curia Pompeii, wherein Cæsar was killed by the conspirators : the pyramid of Cestus : the tombs of Cecilia Metella, and of the Scipio family : the gardens of Ovid and

Book 8th. Chap. 15th.

VOL. I.

C c

Sallust:

Sallust: the house of Cicero, and, in short, a long list of other edifices interesting beyond expression. What subjects are these for reflection! how fully do they engage the attention, and warm the imagination of the beholder! To me their charms are so irresistible, that I visit them daily, and when there, can hardly persuade myself to leave them. How frequently have I discovered the richest ornaments of architecture in the ragged walls of a vineyard! and broken columns, which once perhaps supported the theatre of Scaurus, used as props to the humble roof of a cottage! I saw them, and lamented their change. But the modern palaces absolutely excite my indignation, as I know their materials to be the spoils of the noblest ruins in Rome. You read that this city has been often sacked and pillaged by the Goths, &c. but, believe me, those Goths who have done it the greatest injury, were its popes and cardinals. Few of the many pontiffs, who have resided here, are innocent of this charge. Alexander the VIth, a superstitious Spaniard,

Spaniard, carried this outrage so far, as to destroy the pyramid of Scipio, for its stones to pave the streets. Would that his life for this offence had depended on a jury of antiquarians !

I always view the Tyber with singular satisfaction, because it has retained the appearance it had in the early days of Rome. The foundations of its ancient bridges are still extant, particularly those of the Pons Sublicius, the passage of which Horatius Cocles so valiantly defended against the Etrurian army, until it was broken down behind him, when he plunged with his horse into the rapid stream, and gained the shore amidst the acclamations of his countrymen. The treasures of this river must be immense, from the valuable things thrown into it, at different times, and upon different occasions. Many offers have been made the apostolical chamber to cleanse it, for the chance of what might be discovered in its channel. But these proposals have been rejected, from the well-founded supposition,

position, that the noxious exhalations of the mud might prove fatal to many of the inhabitants. The climate of Rome is already much infected with unwholesome vapour, and this addition would make it insupportable. We have lately made a little tour to Frascati and Tivoli, the former ten, the latter twenty miles from Rome. Frascati was the ancient Tusculum, where, among many others, were the villas of Cicero, of Horace, and of Virgil. In the former (the scite of which they pretend to determine) were written the Tusculan disputations, those admirable compositions of the great orator. Of the country houses we saw here, I have only to say, that they display great magnificence and labour, but little taste; their gardens might excite the admiration of an *Italian*, but an *Englishman* would never make them a second visit.

The situation of Tivoli on a high hill presents one of the most delightful inland landskips I ever saw. The river Anio (now Il Teverone) falling in different channels
over

over the brow, forms two cascades, one of which is singularly bold and striking. We beheld it, from the narrow valley below, rushing out of the ruins of Mæcenas's villa, which hang, as it were, upon the summit. I had no conception that Italy could produce any spot so romantic and so beautiful as Tivoli; and these charms are augmented by the addition of Roman ruins, and an Italian climate. On the verge of the steep rocks over the Anio is the temple of the Sibyl; a little octagon building, that is, without exception, the most exquisite *monceau* of Greek architecture I ever saw.

This place, so favoured by nature, wants no addition to its beauty but wood, for which it was once so remarkable. Horace, you may remember, says

“ Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda

“ Mobilibus pomaria rivis*.”

HOR. lib. i. Od. vii. line 14.

Imitated.

* And Anios cataracts, and Tibur's woods,
And orchards, with their many streams——

And again in the same ode,

“Seu densa tenebit

“Tiburis umbra sui*.”

HOR. lib. i. Od. vii. line 27.

Were Tivoli in England, it would have as many inhabitants as when Mæcnas dwelt there ; but the modern Roman has no taste for rural scenery. He never visits the country, but when the suffocating heat of the capital compels him to leave it. On our return we were conducted to the ruins of Hadrian's villa, that rich mine of antique statues. The situation appears to me much too low, but I believe the ancients did not consider the advantages of prospect as much as we do. Several of its apartments are still known, particularly those called I cento camarelli, or barracks for the emperor's body guards,

Vale.

Imitated.

* If his own Tibur's shade should keep him hence.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

Rome, Dec. 26th, 1787.

THE triumph of reason over credulity and superstition has reduced the sovereign pontiff's authority so low, that he is now much greater as a temporal than as a spiritual prince. In the center and finest part of Italy he possesses a territory of 14,348 square geographic miles, and at present (but how long they may remain I know not*) 520 round Avignon. Though the situation of his dominions be so favourable, they are less productive and less populous than any of the Italian states, in consequence of hierarchy, and that frequent change of sovereigns, whose views and interests are not to enrich, but to impoverish their subjects; for the purpose of raising their families to

* Since this letter was written, he has lost Avignon and the Comtat.

wealth and distinction. In all the long list of St. Peter's successors, I know but few who preferred the happiness of their people to the aggrandizement of their kindred; and eminent among these few was the virtuous Ganganelli, but unhappily he was soon poisoned by the Jesuits.

The tracts of rich land, which formerly supported thousands, but now lie uncultivated, are melancholy instances of wretched government, sacerdotal celibacy, and the many religious feasts which the peasants of the Roman Catholic persuasion most scrupulously observe. It is impossible that any country without commerce can become opulent, unless the attention of the legislature be principally directed to agriculture; and this is so far from being the case here, that the spirit of husbandry is entirely depressed by the monopoly of corn. The farmers are (literally speaking) the slaves of government; for they are obliged to bring in all their wheat, which the apostolical

lical chamber buys at its own valuation, and retails at a price exorbitant, in proportion to what it pays. Even the Campagna di Roma, which was as the neighbourhoods of London and Paris now are, gardens to the capital, has been so neglected, that no animal can exist on it from the fatality of the vapors that its soil exhales. It lies south and south-east of Rome, between it and the hills of Tivoli and Frascati.

There are in the papal territories several extensive marshes. The Paludi Pontini, which lie on the sea coast between Rome and Naples, still consist of many thousand acres, though the present pope has recovered large tracts of land from them. It is to be hoped (I fear more than expected) that his successors will follow his example in this great and useful undertaking, and carry it on to its completion; as it would not only increase the revenue of the state, by the acquisition of rich and extensive pastures, but no longer infect the Sirocco with its effluvia—a south wind that would be fatal

fatal to the inhabitants of Rome, were it during the summer heats to continue five days successively.

As I find nothing particularly interesting in the government of this country, I shall be silent on that subject, when I have told you, the people are so universally corrupt, that the administration of justice must, according to the constitution, be confided principally to foreigners : three only of the twelve auditors of the rota or chief tribunal, being Romans.

The triple crown of St. Peter has ever been so great an object of ambition among those of the clergy who were eligible to it, that every species of intrigue to influence the voices of the electors may be said to prevail in obtaining it ; nor indeed can it be otherwise, when men are thus raised from the condition of a subject to that of a Sovereign, not only of such spiritual but temporal authority, as the Pope.—You will remember Woolsey as an example of this.

Though

Though the cardinal electors may chuse any clergyman of the church of Rome, their choice (as you will suppose) ever falls upon one of their own body: since the reign of Adrian the VIth in 1522, who was a Fleming, it has been confined to Italians, and now no other than a native of Italy can be elected; but to compensate for this exclusion of foreigners, the Emperor of Germany, and the Kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, have a negative voice in the Conclave, so as to prevent the elevation of any cardinal by making previous objection to him.—No great privilege (you will observe) for the first of these princes, who was originally the sole disposer of the papacy. The mode of election is as follows. Ten days after the Pope's death, the members of the sacred college assemble in one of the galleries of the Vatican, prepared for their reception, when they chuse from their own body three scrutatori, or inspectors, and three infermieri, or delegates for collecting the votes of the sick electors, to whom they are first to administer the necessary

cessary oaths, and then to receive their written suffrages in a small box, similar (I suppose) to our charity boxes, as the infermieri cannot open them but in the presence of the electors. Should either of these invalids be so reduced, that he cannot write the name of him whom he supports, any cardinal may do it, but he must first swear before the delegates, that he will not divulge the secret. Having received the sick votes, they immediately proceed to the election. Upon a table in the chapel where they assemble are certain papers, printed according to a form prescribed by the master of the ceremonies, each elector in seniority taking one, writes his own name, and that of him for whom he votes, upon it; then seals and carries it to the altar, at which he swears he has given his voice for the cardinal, whose virtues (in his opinion) intitle him, above the rest, to the vacant throne of St. Peter;* and, finally,

* Were they not cardinals, I should suspect that this election seldom happened without perjury, or something like it.

drops his billet into a large vase. This being done by all, the first inspector mixes the billets together, and the third examines their number. Should more than there are voters be found, they are all burnt, and the suffrages again collected in the same manner. The business being so far adjusted, the first inspector takes up a billet, opens, and having seen the name, shews it to the second, from whom the third receives it, and by him it is declared aloud. Each elector has before him a list of all the sacred college, marks each vote as given, and at the conclusion, on casting up the numbers, perceives who has the majority : but it is required that the successful candidate should have two thirds of the voices ; when this does not appear on the first scrutiny, they go through the business again, with this difference, that instead of writing on their billets, as at first the word *eligo*,* they put *accedo*.† The election being made, the master of the ceremonies and secretary

* I elect.

† I accede to

of the conclave are called in, and informed of the event, when it is immediately published, and a variety of ceremonies, &c. ensue. I should tell you, that from the time the cardinals are assembled in conclave, they are forbidden all external communication, until they have chosen a sovereign pontiff: should either of them be obliged to go out, he cannot be re-admitted.

YOU will perceive by what I have written to you since we have been here, that much time has been employed in visiting its ancient and modern buildings, and in contemplating with rapture the most admirable sculpture and painting in the world. But this occupation was confined to the mornings, or, I should rather say, to part of them, as on getting up we dedicate an hour and a half to our Italian masters. Mine, a certain Abbate Giuntotarde, is a gentleman of singular merit, and as great an enthusiast in poetry as I am, so that we
read

read little else than Ariosto, Tasso, and Metastasio. Soon after our arrival we left our cards, and a letter of introduction from the Marquis of Landfdown at the Cardinal de Bernis's. We were in consequence invited to dine with his eminence the next day, when he received us with great ease and politeness, but said he had not the honour of recollecting the Marquis of Landfdown. You may conceive how much my friend and I were astonished at this declaration; but I happily soon discovered the mistake, and told him, that if he remembered Lord Shelburne, he must know the Marquis of Landfdown, for they were one and the same person. How (said he) is your letter from Lord Shelburne, and has he for the first time in his life now deceived me? However, you are doubly welcome, first, for reminding me of an old friend; and, secondly, for introducing me to a new one; nor were these mere words of course, for he justified their sincerity by his subsequent attention and hospitality. His dinners, *conversazioni*, and academie or concerts,

are

are the most magnificent in Rome; and, I assure you, that every thing travellers have said of his liberality, his wit, and amiable manners, is but the bare acknowledgment of truth. During the last war between Great Britain and France, his invitations to the English gentlemen at Rome were as frequent as ever; indeed he compelled them to visit him, observing that the political quarrel of two nations so enlightened as ours should never disturb the harmony of societies at Rome. He is much more attentive to the English than the generality of their own ministers, as indeed are all the French ambassadors. But his hospitality is not confined to travellers, it is equally directed to those who have no other recommendation to him than their merit; as a proof of this, one day in every week he invites to his sumptuous table the foreign artists who study at Rome. Through him and Mr. Jenkins, the English banker, and I might say Chargé d’Affaires in this city, we have been very generally introduced. The assemblies of the Princess Santa Croce
are

are only inferior to those of the Cardinal de Bernis. There we found a constant Faro bank, though I believe expressly forbidden by government; you may suppose that this breach of law is not very uncommon, when I tell you that the legislators themselves frequently countenance it by their presence. The common people are remarkable above all the other Italians for their taste in musick, consequently their comic opera is most admirable, though the performers are all eunuchs, no actresses being permitted to sing. However, they have so much the appearance of women when in their dress, that an English gentleman of our acquaintance, who went more to gratify his eye than his ear, was so much in raptures with one of them, that he declared, to the great amusement of his countrymen, who were in the secret, *She was the most beautiful girl he had ever seen*, and the next day wrote it a billet doux. This opera is constantly attended by a well-known character, that once set all England in a ferment, but how reduced, how altered from what he was!

VOL. I.

D d

you

you will perceive I allude to *the Pretender*. He is the only person in Rome who is permitted to have lights in his box, and indeed I believe this to be the only mark of distinction he now receives. His face is turned to the performers, but he continually keeps his head down, and seems insensible to every object that surrounds him. He never appears but with the insignia of the garter, and I have once or twice seen him take up his George, and examine it with great attention. It is (as I hear) the same that his ancestor Charles the 1st. gave Bishop Juxton immediately before his execution. A few years ago he was married to a second wife, but she, with many of his followers, deserted him for fairer prospects; their place however is supplied by his natural daughter whom he has created duchess of Albany. She has the character of an amiable woman. I only know that she is not handsome, as the small-pox has made great havock on her features. We meet her in every company, but never the Pretender, nor the Cardinal of York. There is not the

the least resemblance between the brothers, but the Cardinal is very like the portraits I have seen of Charles the II^d.

It is impossible to have a numerous acquaintance at Rome without paying a very heavy tax for it, as the morning after you have left your letters or cards at any house, and when you take leave, your doors are besieged by a legion of servants for what they call the *mancia*, or vails. This scandalous custom is peculiar to Rome, and universally adopted here; what is still more scandalous, the masters are not only privy to it, but share in the spoil, as the wages of their numerous beggars in livery are small, from the certainty of their being made up to them by the contributions they draw from foreigners, which in many houses are very considerable. Should the money given be less than they expect, you are liable to some marked insult in your visits. Is it not surprising that the Cardinal de Bernis should sully his hospitality, by permitting such an infamous usage? But so it is, to

the disgrace and reproach of all the nobility at Rome. The dispositions of the people are so vindictive and sanguinary, that the commonalty are forbidden, under pain of perpetual slavery in the galleys, to carry knives about them; but this prohibition has unfortunately not lessened the number of murders. On coming out of St. Peter's the other day, I was addressed for charity by a tall ill-looking fellow in a shabby blue cloak, who told me, by way of exciting my compassion, that he was a *poor assassin*. I had the curiosity to know something of this *amiable* stranger in distress, who, according to the common custom, had taken refuge under the inviolable portico of this church; and therefore put my laquais de place to interrogate him, but all in vain; he would tell me nothing, except that he should be very happy to assist me in his way. I turned from him with horror, which was farther increased by my reflections on the morals of a people among whom murder is professional, and men live by blood.

Great

Great inconvenience is experienced here from the immense quantity of ragged paper money, which is payable only at the Monte di Pietá, or place whence they are first issued; and there you receive no more than so much per cent. in specie; for the rest you must take a fresh bill,—An undeniable instance of wretched government: but fortunately we have not felt the grievance, as our banker, Mr. Jenkins is uncommonly attentive to his countrymen.

I bid you adieu, and so I shall to Rome in a few days.

LETTER XXI.

Naples, Jan. 20th, 1788.

WE travelled over the foundations of the Appian way, which with an aqueduct of the same name (in part still extant) were made at the sole expence of Appius Claudius, and arrived in the evening at Terracina, the Anxur of the Volscians. This little town, or I should rather say village, stands at the southern extremity of the Paludi Pontini, of which many thousand acres have been drained by the present Pope, who is indefatigable in forwarding this great work; but I fear it is *too great* to be completed by modern Romans, when the ancient could not effect it. These extensive tracts of morass were probably produced by one of those sudden and violent convulsions of the earth to which this part of Europe is so subject, as the elder Pliny observes,

observes*, from the authority of Mutianus who had been thrice consul, that upon the same ground were twenty-three cities. On leaving Terracina the next morning, we saw Il Monte Circello, which you perceive still retains the name of its ancient owner Circe. This celebrated mountain stands on the sea side. It was (if the authority of Homer be admitted) an island.]

Αἰετὸν δ' ἐς νησὶν ἀφικόμεθ', ἐνθα δ' ἐνέκλει

Κίρκη ἐνπλοκάμῳ†.

Od. B. 10. lin. 135.

But I rather suppose that he, thinking an insular situation a more suitable residence to his enchantress than the main land, gave up his knowledge of geography, in this instance, to his poetic muse. A few miles from this place is Gäeta, a city named from the nurse of Æneas, who died there.

* Book 3d, Chap. 5th.

Imitated.

† We come to the Ææan isle, where dwells
Circe with braided hair.

Tu quoque littoribus nostris Æneia nutrix
 Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti, &c.*

VIRG. Æn. vii. line 1 & 2.

And to shew you that every step we take is upon classic ground : a little further is the silent Liris, (Liris taciturnus amnis)† now Il Garigliano, on the banks of which some say the first battle between Pyrrhus and the Romans was fought, though others suppose, and with more probability, that it was on those of the Siris, near Tarentum in Magna Græcia. We crossed it in a ferry boat, and on the passage were told, that the servant of an English nobleman was assassinated there a few years ago by one of the postillions who drove his master's carriage, in consequence of some trivial dispute about the buona mano, or money he had given him. I was sorry to learn upon farther enquiry, that the villain had escaped. The

Imitated,

* Æneian nurse, Caieta, dear to fame,
 You to our coasts from distant Ilium came,
 And dying left them an eternal name.

}

† Liris—a silent brook.

Liris

Liris divided Latium from Campania ; near its mouth were the marshes of Minturnæ, in which you may remember, that Marius in his seventieth year, when driven from Rome by Sylla, took refuge ; and, to avoid discovery, passed a night up to his chin in mud and water.—Happy were it for Rome had he died there.

We found the road most excellent, and soon arrived at modern Capua. The ruins of the ancient city (the principal of which is an amphitheatre almost entire) are a mile and a half higher up the country. I am persuaded that the mere mention of this once luxurious place will remind you of Hannibal, and his fatal error after the victory of Cannæ. From Capua we soon came to Naples.

On the coast of the Campagna felice, the paradise of Italy, and at the extremity of a deep and secure bay, not less than 80 miles in circuit, whose shores offer to the enraptured beholder all that is in nature sublime

sublime and beautiful, is this celebrated city. Notwithstanding every impediment to population, such as religious celibacy, frequent assassination, and that extreme poverty which prevails among the lower orders of the people, in consequence of bad government, ill administered; the inhabitants of Naples amount to 340,000 souls, a number exceeded by no city in Europe; London, Paris, and Constantinople excepted. It is upon the whole irregularly built, but contains many noble palaces. The Strada di Toledo is the principal street, which is inferior to those of the second order in London. I remember to have been shewn some polished slabs of lava as a great curiosity a few months before I left England, but here I walk on nothing else, as all Naples is paved with it. Though hard as marble, I should suppose it too porous for the construction of houses. We have been so accustomed to the magnificent edifices of Rome, that few buildings at Naples attract our attention; but there is one, the theatre of St. Carlo, which is superior to any

any thing of the kind we have ever seen ; being at least equal to that of Milan in dimensions, and far before it in decoration. On a gala night, when the house is illuminated, it presents one of the most brilliant spectacles imaginable ; as a profusion of mirrors, other glasses, and reverberators, assist and multiply the light, and consequently display to the greatest advantage the carving, gilding, &c. The palace in which the king resides is contiguous to St. Carlo, but contains nothing remarkable in sculpture, painting, or other furniture, whilst in that of the Capo di Monte, which, I believe, he never inhabits, are the choicest collections of pictures, medals, gems, &c. among the latter is a famous onyx, eight inches in diameter, representing in cameo, on the one side, Medusa's head : and on the other the apotheosis of Hadrian. Though probably the largest gem in the world, it is less interesting on that account, than for the beauty of its engraving, which is inimitable. Having said so much of the city, I shall proceed to the environs and bay

bay of Naples, the last of which the eye covers, as it were, at a glance from the windows of our apartments. The famous grotto of Paufilipo is perhaps the most stupendous effort of labour in the world. Naples being excluded by the mountain of this name, which is immediately behind it, from a free communication with the country, Agrippa formed the design of cutting a subterraneous passage through the solid rock (for so it is) from the one to the other side; and entrusted the execution of it to two freedmen, who had studied architecture. It is in length 2315 feet, from 16 to 20 in breadth, and from 40 to 60 in height. From the top of the mountain to the centre of the grotto is an aperture cut for the purpose of admitting into it air and light; but the last is still so scanty, that some person of authority, who knew how to convert the gross superstition of the Neapolitans to their advantage, erected an image of the Virgin Mary in the most obscure part of the cavern, preassured that they would never suffer so revered a figure

figure to remain in the dark, but chearfully contribute their alms to supply her shrine with lamps. On the hill near the entrance of this grotto is a small square ruin called Virgil's Tomb; but to believe that it is so, I require more satisfactory evidence than the mere traditionary opinion of the Neapolitans. We always make our country excursions in calese, or light whiskeys, which stand for hire in Naples, as our hackney coaches in London, &c. because they are much pleasanter than a carriage; and, being drawn by excellent ponies, infinitely more expeditious. In these we often pass the grotto of Pausilipo, and ever with all possible haste, the dust and confined air being so offensive. The road on the other side leads to the coast opposite the islands of Ischia and Procida, than which no maritime scenery can be more delightful; and perhaps you will give me full credit for this assertion, when I tell you, it is the country in which Virgil placed his Elysian fields, and Cicero, Lucullus, &c. &c. their villas. At Puzzuoli, the ancient Puteoli, we beheld

held magnificent ruins, particularly the entire ground-work of a temple sacred to the Egyptian deity Serapis, which has been lately discovered. About a mile from this place is the Zolfatara, a small oval plain, the soil of which is one continued stratum of sulphur. It is surrounded by little hills, having been the crater of a volcano, from which the last eruption was in 1198. It still has many mouths, which emit a hot sulphureous steam, and is hollow beneath, as we perceived by the sound of our feet in walking over it. I am satisfied its magazines of combustible matter are now augmenting for some terrible explosion that may happen sooner than expected. Not far from this place is the lake Agnano, a circular piece of water full of fish, particularly of tench, and I might say covered with moor-hens, which are preserved for the king's diversion, when he either fishes or shoots. Upon the borders are sulphureous sweating baths, which we had the curiosity to enter, but were soon compelled to leave, by the too powerful heat of the vapour.

vapour. They are used by many who are afflicted with the gout, rheumatism, &c. and esteemed a sovereign remedy for such disorders. Near these is a small cavern in a rock called La Grotta del Cane, from which mephitic effluvia exhale so powerfully, that within a foot of the ground they prevent respiration. It was called del Cane, from the cruel custom of shewing people its effect upon dogs, kept for the purpose. In opposition to every thing we could say to the contrary, this was done when we were there. The poor animal (who from frequent experience was apparently conscious of his unfeeling master's intention) being put into the grotto, became instantly convulsed; but on being thrown into the lake, he as quickly recovered, and swam to shore. To return to Puzzuoli, I must observe to you, that the pleasant coast of Baice is divided from this town by a bay two miles and a half across, over which Caligula, that monster of pride and cruelty, in vain attempted to build a bridge of stone. His intention by this work was to appear
more

more powerful than Xerxes when he passed the Hellespont, but his vanity was not gratified; for when the artificers came to the middle of the channel, they found it too deep to proceed: he was therefore obliged to make use of boats chained together, as a substitute for his intended building. The ruins are still extant, and appear like an immense causeway in the sea. Near the extremity of this bay are the remains of Cumæ, the oldest city upon the western coast of Italy, founded, as some say, by a colony of Chalcians from Æubæa, or as others by adventurers from Cumæ of Æolis in Asia Minor. It was inhabited as late as the year 1207, when the Saracens utterly destroyed it. The castle gate-way however still remains entire. This charming coast is worthy of all that praise which the Roman poets have bestowed on it. The most elegant and descriptive prose is, in my opinion, insufficient to do it justice. Though now in the depth of winter the air is as soft as your summer breezes. The sea is calm, the

the sky clear, and all nature wears her kindest aspect.

Hic ver affiduum, atque alienis mensibus æstas,
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.*

VIRG. GEORG. lib. iii. l. 149 & 150.

Near the scite of Cumæ is Il Capo di Miseno, a bold promontory that bends over the sea, and was thus named after Misenus, the trumpeter of Hector, and the companion of Æneas. Virgil, who is always of our party in these excursions to this his favourite country, being the best and most agreeable guide, tells you that Misenus, for his presumption in supposing himself a better trumpeter than the gods, was thrown by Triton into the sea under this mountain, where he lost his life. The poet having described his funeral, and the grief of his companions, makes the following conclusion of the story.

Imitated.

* Here spring and summer every season share,
The cattle twice bring forth, and twice the fruit-trees bear.

VOL. I.

E e

At

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
 Imposuit, suaque arma viro, remumq. tubamque
 Monte sub aerio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
 Dicitur, æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen.*

VIRG. ÆN. vi. l. 235.

Within a small circuit are the prisons and baths of Nero : the Elyfian fields now over-run with vines : the ruins of several temples, &c. the river Acheron : mare morto : piscina mirabile, which seems to have been an immense reservoir of water : and the lake Avernus. The last of these, being the subject of one of the most finished pictures of so great a master of description as the Mantuan bard, is particularly interesting. You may suppose then, that we viewed it with all the rapture that fine rural scenery, thus heightened to perfection by the fiction and enchanting language

Imitated.

* High on a hill his tomb Æneas placed,
 With his own arms, his oar and trumpet graced.
 A hill from him Misenus call'd, that fame,
 To time's remotest age, might bear his honor'd name.

of

of poetry, can create in imaginations so alive to its impression as ours. We descended its steep banks, which, were covered with venerable groves of ilex, till cut down by Agrippa, to the ruined temple of Apollo.

“ Arces quibus altus Apollo

“ Præsidet*.”

VIRG. ÆN. vi. l. 10.

Part of which is washed by this clear and silent lake. In the surrounding hill is the grotto of the Cumæan Sibyl.

Quæ rupe sub imâ

Fata canit, foliisque notas et nomina mandat.

Quæcunque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo

Digerit in numerum, atque antro seclusa relinquit,

Illa manent immota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt,

Vérum eadem verso tenuis cum cardine ventus

Impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondes,

Nunquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,

Imitated.

* The tow'rs o'er which the god of day presides.

Nec revocare situs, aut jungere carmina curat,
Inconfulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllæ.*

VIRG. ÆN. iv. l. 452.

Each having taken a guide (Dundas being with us) we determined to explore this mansion of prophecy. In the middle of a long passage (which like that of Pausilipo is cut through the hill) we turned on the right, and by torch light descended a narrow alley, until our progress was obstructed by water. Finding it not deep, we made our conductors take off their shoes and stockings, and got on their backs, each rider carrying his flambeau. We soon entered a square apartment, in which we

Imitated.

* Who in deep cave declares what fate conceals,
And names and signs by written leaves reveals.
On these she writes whate'er the god inspires,
Lays them in form, and to her den retires.
There they remain ranged in prophetic verse.
Yet should a breath of wind these leaves disperse,
She never cares to call them back again.
But e'er consulted by the sons of men,
Far, far they fly, and seem to hate her den. }

found

found two baths, and from this went into a smaller room, both overflowed with water knee deep. Determined to proceed, we looked for the passage that should lead us onward, but to our great mortification found that the earth had fallen in, and choked it. Our intention was to have walked directly through, there being (as reported) another entrance at Cumæ. This cavern too is noticed by Ovid, who makes it his palace of sleep.

*Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,
Mons cavus, ignavi domus, et penetralia fomni, &c.**

OVID. MET. lib. ii. l. 592.

I should suppose that the lake Avernus was, but at a time antecedent to the annals of history, the crater of a volcano; the circumference is not less than a mile and three quarters, the water deep, transparent, and

Imitated.

- * There is a den near the Cimmerian shore,
Whose deep recess no mortal can explore.
The slumb'rous seat of sloth—th' abode of sleep.

well tasted. When its banks were covered with wood, the air being too confined, and charged with the vapour of the stagnate water, was so fatal to respiration, that Virgil tells you the birds, which attempted to fly over, fell lifeless into the lake, and that it was thence called *Aogvos*.

Quem super haud ullæ poterant impunè volantes

Tendere iter pennis, talis sese halitus atris,

Faucibus effundens, supera ad convexa ferebant.

*Unde loca Graii dixerunt nomine Aornon.**

ÆN. vi. l. 242.

You perceive that I have no room to say any more, therefore I shall beg leave to drop the subject until some future day, when probably I shall have more matter, and more leisure, than I now have.

Imitated.

- * O'er which no birds on buoyant wing can sail,
Such fatal gusts from its dark throat exhale;
That from on high precipitate they fall,
And hence its gulf the Greeks Aornon call.

UPON

Naples.

UPON the bay of Naples, four miles south east of the city, are the towns of Refina and Portici. In the latter is a royal palace and a museum, richer in antique curiosities than all the cabinets of Europe, being filled with a variety of articles collected from Herculaneum and Pompeii, such as valuable statues, vases of silver, of bronze, and of glass, instruments of surgery, among which we were shewn some for extracting the stone, an operation which I had hitherto thought unknown to the ancients; weights, measures, hooks and fishing nets, armour, weapons, musical instruments, loaded dice larger than those of the present day, metallic mirrors, earthen ware, and glass, of an inferior quality to that now made, toilet furniture, and even provisions, namely, figs, nuts, currants, eggs, meat, bread, corn, wine, and oil, dried

to a hard substance ; in short, every thing that could administer not only to the necessities and convenience, but to the most refined luxuries of life. One of the rooms in this museum is the exact counterpart of a Roman kitchen, with all its furniture, hung as when discovered in the original. Many of the vessels are similar to those used at present, but of superior quality, being made of bronze, and highly finished. The most interesting and most valuable room, however, is the library, from the numerous manuscript rolls which it contains. What a field is here for conjecture ! what room for hope ! Among this inestimable collection how many great works are there, of which even the names are now unknown ! how many unbroken volumes, whose very fragments preserved in the writings of the ancient scholiasts, convey to us moral improvement, information, and delight ! perhaps all the dramatic pieces of Menander and Philemon, perhaps, nay certainly, the lost Decades of Livy ; for it is impossible to suppose, that among so many rolls, the
most

most admired history of the people who possessed them is not to be found, what private library in Britain is without the best histories of England? But how I tremble for their situation, as Portici is built on the lava that overwhelmed Herculaneum! How I tremble too for the indifference of the king of Naples towards this invaluable treasure, in which all the most enlightened people of Europe are deeply interested! When I first saw them, I had no idea of what they were, as they resemble wooden truncheons burnt almost to charcoal. They are so hard and brittle, that the greatest caution must be used in removing them, lest they crumble to dust; nevertheless, an ingenious friar of Genoa, named Raggio, undertook to unroll them, and by a most curious, though tedious process, so far succeeded, as to transcribe three Greek Treatises on Philosophy and Musick; but finding (as I hear) no other encouragement than his salary, which was but little more than you pay some of your servants, the work was unhappily discontinued. Were these
manu-

manuscripts in England, they would not long remain a secret to the world. On leaving the palace we descended by stairs cut out of the lava, not less than fifty feet to the buried city of Herculaneum, but it was by no means as interesting as I expected. When at the bottom we thought ourselves in an immense quarry, and saw only the orchestra of a theatre, and part of the forum, which were so involved in obscurity, as to be scarce discernible. The difficulty and expence of working through the solid lava is so great, that few discoveries have been made, and it was found necessary to fill up many of the excavations, lest the foundations of Portici should be injured by them. But it is very different at Pompeii. This place is about nine miles from Herculaneum, being covered not by lava, but ashes, it has been cleared with little difficulty, so that an entire street, besides several detached houses, are laid open. In the suburbs are the soldiers barracks, a square building admirably planned. We perceived on the walls several names scratched

ed

ed out with a knife, or some such instrument, particularly *Cn. Balbus, Lu. Jun. Rufus, &c. &c.* and were informed, that among the many skeletons found here (some of which we saw) four were discovered in the prison of these barracks with their legs confined in a stocks. These poor wretches were unable to liberate themselves, and forgotten in the general confusion. Having entered the town gate, we found the street narrow, and the pavement much damaged, and worn into deep ruts by cart-wheels. The houses, though low (none of them being above two stories high) consist of several small apartments stuccoed and painted, the colours of which are as fresh and vivid, as if recently laid on. Each has an inner court, some have two, and in one we perceived three, with marble basins or fountains in the middle. The cellars are built like cloisters, being four piazzas, at right angles one with another. We found in them several large wine jars of earthenware, ranged along the walls, and if I recollect well, marked and numbered. You
may

may suppose that the houses of Pompeii are in high preservation, when I tell you, that we saw on the sill of a window, stains of some such liquor as chocolate or coffee, made by the bottom of the cups.

Herculaneum and Pompeii were built at the foot of Vesuvius, each five miles distant from the crater. They were both destroyed A. D. 79, during the reign of Titus, but in a different manner. Pompeii, as the wind lay that way, was buried under a heavy and continued shower of hot ashes, and pumice stone; so thick as to darken that part of the country for three days successively, there being no light but from the flames of Vesuvius, and so immediate as to preclude escape. The fate of Herculaneum was still more sudden; as a deep torrent of lava rolled over it to the sea. I well remember that the younger Pliny, in one of his letters* relating the manner of his uncle's death, who was suffocated here in

* See Epistle the 16th of the sixth Book.

attempting

attempting to save his friend Pomponianus, and others of the wretched inhabitants, has left a most interesting account of this tremendous eruption, the appearance of which, is finely given by Martial in a single line.

Cuncta jacent flammis et tristi merfa favillâ.*

MARTIAL, lib. xiv. Epigr. 42—44. l. 6.

In reflecting on this subject I have often been surprised that the Romans never attempted to lay open these cities ; but what more surprises me is, that the Neapolitans should build their palaces and villas on the very spot where Herculaneum was lost. At every eruption they fly to Naples, but as what has happened may happen again, destruction no less sudden than that of 79 may come upon them, and perhaps in future ages travellers will visit the subterraneous towns of Resina and Portici, as we now do that of Herculaneum. Being very desirous of looking down the mouth of the

Imitated.

* All is involved in flame, or mournful embers sunk.
volcano,

volcano, we took guides and mules, and rode up its sides through the vineyards that produce the Lacryma Christi and Hermitage wines, which, like many other things, have, in my opinion, more fame than excellence. These vines grow in the dark blue ashes and cinders of the mountain. When arrived at a certain point, we alighted, and pursued the way on foot, as it was much too steep for even mules to climb. After two hours ascent, we got within five or six hundred yards of our destination. This point was once the summit of Vesuvius, but late eruptions have raised it considerably, and given it another top. Here we found it impossible to proceed without going round the mountain, which we did, but with great difficulty, as the foggy steams of sulphur almost prevented our breathing, and the heat of the ground had consumed our thick shoes to a cinder. Having at length gained the brink of the crater, which, like an immense cauldron, emitted a vapour that made it impossible to see the contents until the wind should disperse it, we waited
some

some time with great patience. But Mr. Pocock, finding the smoke too oppressive, was obliged to retire. I however determined to remain as long as possible, and happily my perseverance was crowned with success, for a sudden gust entirely cleared the mouth, and gave me a full view of it. Instead of seeing, as I expected, a vast gulf with sides of shaggy and projecting rocks, I beheld a fine sloping basin formed as regularly as if it had been a work of art, the circumference of which is about 500 paces. In it were layers of sulphur of different colours beautifully clear, and at the bottom, about eighty yards deep, I perceived three mouths, but no fire or flame. It is a custom with the guides to shout whenever a breeze of wind clears the crater of its smoke. On this occasion I was surprised to hear, in addition to my man's voice, a loud English huzza; on looking about me I perceived a true John Bull, who, when he had hallooed till he was hoarse, swore that this was the most wonderful sight he had ever seen. He was the master

ter of a merchant ship in the bay of Naples, and had come up to see the crater of Vesuvius; into which, insensible of the danger, he would have descended had I not prevented him. By so doing, I flatter myself, that I have preserved for my country one of its most valuable citizens—an able and intrepid seaman.

Some days after this expedition to Vesuvius we visited the palace of Caserta, which I had heard was the most magnificent in Europe; but conceive our disappointment when in an immense house, the external appearance of which is indeed full of promise, we could praise only the chapel, the theatre, and grand stair-case. These are very noble, and display a profusion of the richest and rarest marbles. The gardens, with their cascades and basins of water, though *a la Française*, are not undeserving of attention. From these we had a most grateful prospect of all the Campagna felice, Mount Vesuvius, &c. &c. &c. Caserta is sixteen miles from Naples; we
were

were persuaded to go about a league and a half farther to see a modern aqueduct that supplies the palace with water. It was built by the late king of Naples over a deep valley, from one mountain to another. The architecture is very praise-worthy, as it is not only solid, but also light for an edifice of this kind. Near it are the celebrated *Furculæ Caudinæ*, where the Roman army, being drawn into ambush by the Samnites, were compelled to pass under the yoke. Livy, whom I have been just reading on this subject, indicates the strong sense of shame that the vanquished felt on the occasion in this expressive sentence :
 “ *Quum ex saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab*
 “ *inferis extracti, tum primum lucem aspi-*
 “ *cere visi sunt ; tamen ipsa lux ita de-*
 “ *forme intuentibus agmen, omni morte*
 “ *tristior fuit.**” Book ix. Chap. 6.

* When they had come out of the forest, like men raised from the shades below, they first beheld the light, but that light was to all more lamentable than death, as it shewed them their own army reduced to such ignominy.

We think ourselves particularly fortunate in having been introduced to society at Naples, as few Englishmen know more of it at their departure, than they do on their arrival. Indeed we expected this introduction to take place through the medium of Sir William Hamilton, the British minister, especially, as exclusive of the public and private letters we had for him, he was intimately acquainted with Sir George Pocock, but we were mistaken. He did us the honour of presenting us at Court, and of inviting us to dinner twice at Naples, and once at his villa in Caserta, during a residence of two months. We were by another gentleman * introduced to Monsieur de Taleyrande, the French ambassador, at whose house we met, and made acquaintance with the first company in Naples. His excellency keeps a superb table, from which he insisted that our *mauvaise honte Anglaise* should not deter us, and indeed we are obliged to dine

* Heu quantum mutatus ab illo !

there

there seldom less than three times a week. We found the court very brilliant, and the king very gay; for as Sir William was reading over the *hard English* names of the gentlemen he presented, his majesty burst out a laughing in their faces, made his bow, and walked on. He is extremely partial to hunting, shooting, fishing, rowing, &c. &c. &c. in which they say he is very clever. The queen removed out of the drawing room into another apartment, where the officers of three or four Neapolitan regiments had the honour of kissing her hand: this ceremony lasted an hour and a half at least. However, I should suppose it was not disagreeable to her, for she certainly held out to them *the finest hand and arm I ever saw*.

During the carnival, that grand Roman Catholic festival which precedes Lent, Naples is a scene of universal jubilee. Its operas, both serious and comic, are the best in Italy, the music being generally by Paesello, who is thought to be, and I

think deservedly, the finest composer that ever lived ; though Naples can now boast of other great masters, such as Cimarosa, Guglielmi, &c. &c. Once every week during the latter part of the carnival, the theatre of San Carlo is laid open for masquerades, in which there is an infinite variety of character and humour unknown in England. At one of these I was introduced to the duchess of San Clemente, the most elegant and accomplished woman of Naples, and in her parties I have since generally passed my evenings. She is nearly related to the duke of Leinster, her mother the marchioness Arezzo being a Fitzgerald.* There is another amusement on certain days of this festival, which is peculiar to Naples. In the evening many of the nobility masked, and in dominos, parade up and down the Strada di Toledo in their coaches. Some go in open carriages, armed with shields, and furnished with bags of sugar-plumbs to throw at all they meet. When two of these carriages pass each other, a warm engagement ensues. Our party

party on these occasions was generally made up at the French ambassador's, and consisted of his two sons, the young Comte de Polignac, Mr. Pocock, and myself. On Thursday last we had a very severe action. I observed that one of the enemy behaved uncommonly well; his exertions were at last so great, that his mask dropped off, which he hastily replaced, but not so soon as to prevent our seeing the face of his *Neapolitan Majesty*. Besides these diversions there are (I believe every week in the year) two assemblies, or as here called Académie; one, confined to the nobility is named l'Academia dei Nobili; and the other, consisting of the first order of citizens, l'Academia degli Amici; their entertainment consists of music, dancing, cards, billiards and conversazioni; on our arrival we were politely sent tickets of general admission to each.

In so warm a country as Naples, the inhabitants during the summer, sleep the

greater part of the day, and amuse themselves all night in the open air, either on the Chiaia, a beautiful walk near the sea, or in their gardens on Mount Paufilipo, &c. To their great partiality for music must be attributed that infamous custom among the common people of emasculating their children—a custom in every other part of Italy forbidden under the severest penalties. Not one in fifty of these wretched martyrs to harmony and avarice succeed, but fortunately they are received as choiristers by many of the religious fraternities, and are thus enabled to gain a bare subsistence. The Lazaroni are a body of near 4000 men peculiar to this city. Indeed in no other country, to which nature is so bountiful, than this, could they exist, as they are without any settled employment, without money, without habitation, and almost without clothes. On our return to our lodgings every night we find the stair-case so covered with them asleep, that it is with difficulty we pass without treading on them. You may suppose

pose that the appearance of so many ragged and ill-looking fellows at first alarmed us; but we found they were extremely inoffensive, and ready to run from one end of Naples to the other for the smallest gratuity.

In walking the streets I have often been robbed of my handkerchief, the Neapolitan pickpocket being a greater adept than Mr. Barrington. Some years since the boatswain of an English frigate had lost so many, that he determined to sew one to his pocket for the purpose of detecting the thief. Having done so he came on shore, and had not walked a hundred yards before he felt a pull; turning round on the instant, he struck the culprit with his fist in the stomach, and laid him breathless on the pavement. Many people immediately assembled, and turning the wretch about, were astonished not to perceive any marks of blood; for they supposed it impossible that one man could deprive another of his senses, without he had in their own common way stabbed him to the heart. I am

afraid to tell you how many are killed and wounded annually in this kingdom by the *coltellata*, or cut of the knife; lest you should suppose I romanced, but I assure you I have it from the most respectable authority, that there are not less than 16,000. The Neapolitan, you will observe, never strikes with his fist, as an Englishman would, but always with his long knife, and when he has done the deed, no man ever thinks of arresting him. A few years since an assassin, grown grey in murder, was by some unaccountable accident taken up. He not only acknowledged the crimes laid to his charge, but mentioned several others unknown. A monk who was present happened to say, that probably too he had never confessed himself, or observed the discipline of the church. This reflection was too cutting, he lost all patience, and addressing himself to the priest with extreme anger and indignation, exclaimed, Come padre, mi sospettate dunque di non esser Cristiano*?

* How father (said he) and can you suspect me then to be no Christian?

The

The common people kill one another openly, but the better sort of citizens in a more refined manner. They have here, and I believe only here, the secret of preparing the acqua toffana, a poison that all are by law forbidden either to make or keep. A gentleman of the faculty assured me, that its principal ingredients are cantharides and opium. It is as clear and as tasteless as water, slow in operation, but sure in effect, without producing any internal inflammation, or leaving any marks that might lead even to suspicion.

Adieu. I am really ashamed of this long letter,

LETTER XXII.

Pæstum, Feb. 16th, 1788.

IF I except my excursion into Spain, we had, previous to our leaving Naples, confined ourselves to the common route of English travellers in France, Switzerland, and Italy; but the very favourable accounts of the Calabrias and Sicily determined us to strike out a new course, and to visit those countries, which not only from modern description, but from being so generally the subject of ancient history, we considered as a Land of Promise. Having procured every thing we thought necessary to alleviate the many difficulties of the journey, particularly letters of introduction from the dukes of San-Clemente, a good chart, and a few Greek authors as guides, we yesterday embarked in a Maltese Speronara, or open boat, managed by seven men, whose appearance was quite new to us, they being
a mongrel

a mongrel race between the Italian and Moor, inheriting all the cunning of the one, and all the fierceness of the other;—dangerous company you will say, but we took care to let them know two things essential to our safety; first, that we had not money enough to pay for their boat, until we should arrive at Messina; and again, that we were expected by some knights of Malta, who would know of our departure with them. In sailing down the bay of Naples, our view of the city, &c. was inexpressibly fine, all its beauties being flushed and heightened by the setting sun. As the houses, from the situation of the ground on which they stand, rise one above another, we were able at a considerable distance to distinguish those in which we had passed the greater part of our time with people, whom it is impossible to forget, or not to admire; and when night came on, the lamps, by reminding us that those people would soon assemble, led us into no favourable comparison of their situation with ours. They, happy in the society of a select few,

or

or charmed in their brilliant Académie with the music of their own incomparable Paefello: and we, exposed to the night air, almost becalmed, and rocked to sickness in the middle of the bay of Naples. At eleven P. M. we anchored in the Straits between the isle of Capræ*, and the Punto di Campanella on the main land, and having put up a covering of sail cloath, lay down for the night. Our portmanteau made no bad substitute for a bolster, and we luckily found a thick woollen rug, which served as a comfortable counterpane; yet the swell of the sea, and the roar of the waves against the rocks, made all our attempts to sleep ineffectual, so that our only consolation was the hope of a favourable breeze in the morning. But this proved delusive; however, as the wind was not directly against us, we rowed

* This charming island is situated at the entrance of the bay of Naples nineteen miles from the city. It was chosen by Sejanus for the retreat of the emperor Tiberius, in which he was guilty of every species of debauchery. Some remains of his palace, &c. &c. are still extant.

across the gulph of Salerno, and landed at the little village of Agropoli, where, having hired mules and a guide, we travelled a few miles back along the sea coast to visit the ruins of Pæstum.

In that part of Italy which the Elder Pliny calls the third region, and on the borders of one of those delightful plains, which extend in imperceptible ascent from the Mediterranean to the Apennines, stood the city of Posidonia, or Pæstum, built, according to that general compiler Julius Solinus, by a colony of Dorians. We find in other authors, particularly in the fifth book of Strabo, a more satisfactory account of the origin of this celebrated city. After the destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniats, a wandering troop of Theffalians endeavoured to settle near it, but were not permitted. Being too weak to oppose the conquerors, and their invincible champion Milo, they went back to Greece, and having allured many adventures by the favourable

vourable description they gave of Italy, among whom was the historian Herodotus, returned with ten ships under the command of Lampon and Xenocratus, and founded Thurium. Among the new citizens were many Sybarites, who, having soon after their association with, incurred the displeasure of the native Greeks, were driven from among them. These exiles crossed the country, and settled in this plain, where they built Posidonia, about 390 years before the Christian æra. As the Sybarites were the most refined and voluptuous of the Grecian people that colonized in Italy, we might thence infer, even if its ruins were not a sufficient indication of it, that Posidonia was a rich and magnificent city. It was first conquered by the Lucanians, who changed its name to Pæstum. The citizens are mentioned by Livy as the allies of the Romans, to whom in the second Punic war they offered their golden cups and vessels, which however were not accepted—an undeniable proof of their wealth

wealth and luxury. In 920 it was burnt by the Saracens, yet happily those Barbarians did not so entirely destroy it, but that there still remain four noble monuments of its ancient grandeur, which are, and probably will continue for many centuries to be, the admiration of the classic traveller. The three first are temples, which architects distinguish by appellations borrowed from the Greek, namely, the Hexastyle Hypæthral: the Hexastyle Peripteral: and the Pseudodipteral or Basilica. To explain this, I must tell you that the first stands on a base of three steps, and has two equal fronts of six columns, and fourteen on each side. Every shaft consists of four fluted stones, they diminish more in circumference from the base to the capital, than any I ever saw. Within the temple was another detached colonnade, of which seven pillars still remain; and on these stood a third row, smaller and fluted. The second temple is not unlike the first, nor very different from it in dimensions; but the
Pseu-

Pseudodipteral is considerably larger than either, having nine columns in each front, and 18 on each side. As I well remember that you used to ridicule my partiality for Vitruvius and Palladio, I shall say nothing more upon the venerable remains of Pæstum, than that their order is a rude (and in my opinion) an unpleasing specimen of the Doric, which is a strong argument in favour of their antiquity. The fourth ruin is an oblong amphitheatre, 170 by 116 feet. Exclusive of these are a gateway: part of the city walls: and watch towers; but they (I should suppose) were built many years after the temples and amphitheatre. The view of this plain, and of these its ancient inhabitants, is grand and interesting. Seven miles from it are the woods of Silarus, and the river Silo. I almost wished to be stung by one of those flies which Virgil notices as peculiar to this country, and so formidable to cattle.

Est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
 Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen Asylo
 Romanum est, *Æstron* Graii vertère vocantes,
 Asper, acerba sonans, &c.*

GEOR. 3. l. 146, &c.

Most of the Roman poets have celebrated the Rose Tree of Pæstum for bearing twice a year. I have this instant enquired of the people, in whose house I am now writing, whether it be still so, and they tell me that their children gather them in May and in October. Adieu, we are going into our Speronara at nine, P. M.

Scalèa, Feb. 25th.

THE first night of our voyage, having been altogether restless, we fell into a deep sleep almost as soon as we had extended ourselves on our beds of oak, when we

Imitated.

- * In the deep groves of Silarus is seen
 A fly, or near Alburnum ever green,
 Which the Greeks *Æstron*, we *Asylo* call,
 That buzzes with hoarse hum, &c.

re-embarked at Agropoli, and did not awake the next morning, until we felt our Maltese drawing up the boat on shore. This was in consequence of a strong southerly wind, which had set in before they had rowed three leagues from the place we had left in the night. Our situation was now truly distressful, being cast on the rude inhospitable coast of Salerno, where there was no food to refresh, no house to receive us, nor any prospect at sea of favourable weather to proceed. The next day we walked up the country, and ascended a lofty mountain, on the peak of which is the village of Castel Abbate; but, suspicious of the fallow and inhuman aspect of its inhabitants, we returned to the Speronara, in which we passed a dreadful night of wind and incessant rain. The day after, not judging a second walk altogether prudent, we *amused* ourselves with sitting still under the damp covering of our boat. At night I in vain attempted to sleep; in the morning however nature, overcome with fatigue, sunk into sound repose; but oh!
how

how glad I was to be disturbed with tidings that the wind had fallen, and we were again going out to sea. The exertion of our sailors was very great, as if they were determined to make up the time they had lost, for before nine, P. M. we had gained 18 leagues by rowing, and never were poor fellows more chearful in their labour, though indeed we could not understand them, as their language is a corrupt Arabic. We doubled the capes Licofa and Palinuro; the last of these has retained its name near 3000 years, being called after Æneas's pilot, who, falling from the helm when asleep, was driven to this promontory, where he was murdered by the natives, who were not however more inhuman than their present descendents. Near the brow is a ruin, which might be the remains of his monument. This story is charmingly related in the fifth book of Virgil, and in the sixth, Æneas is represented as meeting him in the shades below, where the attendant Sibyl comforts his wandering ghost with this assurance.

Tua finitimi longé latéque per urbes
 Prodigiiis acti cælestibus ossa piabunt.
 Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo solennia mittent,
 Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen hahebit.*

ÆN. vi. line 381.

A few miles to the south of this classical promontory we entered the gulf of Policastro, and carried our Speronara into a secure little port near the Capo di Infreschi, where we not only found a house, but fresh eggs and sweet oil, with which one of the servants, whom we had hired for the tour, being a good cook, though a consummate rogue, made us an excellent omlette. We sat here over a wood fire more than three hours, except when driven by the smoke at intervals (there being no chimney) into the open air for the preservation

Imitated.

* The neighb'ring people shall repent thy doom,
 And warn'd by heav'n raise o'er thy grave a tomb.
 On which, as each revolving year goes round,
 All shall hang gifts, and consecrate the ground.
 Call'd by thy name the mountain shall be shown,
 To future men in ages now unknown,

of

of our eyes. About midnight the wind veer'd a little to the north, which occasioned our immediate re-embarkation. Soon after our departure the breeze freshened, and we sailed in triumph across the gulf, when, to our inexpressible mortification, it not only fell, but rose again in the south; and blowing with great violence, dashed our boat upon the shores of Calabria, under the little town of Scaléa, which are still ruder than those of Salerno. Here we have been five heavy days and nights, and here we are likely to continue, as the moon, on which was all our hope, has changed, but produced no alteration in the weather. Our situation is now bad, but what would it have been, if on the melancholy day of our arrival we had not found a little convent of Franciscan friars, who have charitably received us: spared us one of their own cells, with a bed, two chairs, and a table, and provided us with food. The honesty, the simplicity, and the attention of these good men have greatly alleviated our distresses; indeed without the protection of

their convent, we had probably been murdered, as *in a country of assassination*, this spot is the *most* noted for it. About five years ago a knight of Malta, and the sailors of such a Speronara as ours, were killed and plundered within two miles of Scaléa.

I have had an opportunity of observing the soil and produce of this part of Calabria citra. Though little cultivated, the earth is naturally rich and abundant, particularly in olives, figs, and grapes. The two former are remarkable for their delicious flavour, and the latter would be equal to any in the world, were the vines properly cultivated and dressed. The wild aromatic herbs of the mountains are so nutritious, that cattle cannot feed upon them without becoming too gross in six weeks. All the coast is covered with a variety of myrtles, very different from the forced production of our northern hemisphere, as every gale is scented by their odour. The Calabrian peasant never knows what winter is: for even now the country wears the full appearance of summer,

summer, from the softness of the climate, and infinite variety of ever-greens. But the beneficence of nature is ill repaid in this charming country, for the inhabitants are worse than Barbarians, and the nobility, who possess immense tracts of land, never see them, but reside altogether at Naples.

On the summit of one of the neighbouring hills that commands an extensive sweep of prospect over the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the two Calabrias, stands an hermitage, whose lonely tenant (as our monks report) is an Englishman. He has resided there nine years, and subsisted on the alms of the country people, who are extremely partial to him from the happy supposition that he is a saint. Padre Vincenzo, the guardian of our little convent, tells me that he has often met him, and that once in a deep wood below the hermitage he found him weeping over a miniature, which, on being surprized, he put hastily into his bosom, and retired.

He supposes him to be about forty years of age, and says his appearance is noble and interesting. We have been, as you may imagine, very desirous of *coping* with this melancholy man, but our continual expectation of a favourable wind has prevented it.

This is a fine sporting country too, as it abounds in wild boars, stags, deer, wolves, foxes, hares, pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, and a variety of water-fowl,

We shall never depart, but,

————— *Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est,**
must now be our only motto.

—————
Messina, March 1st.

On the seventh morning of our detention at Scaléa, I arose about two hours before day to observe the weather; and finding it

* We must subdue our misfortunes by patience.

the

the same as before, went to bed again, and slept. Some time after this, we were joyfully roused by one of the sailors, who could speak a little Italian, with the ever memorable words of *Abbiamo il Tramontana Signor!* We hurried on our clothes, made our acknowledgments to our benevolent hosts, on whom with difficulty we forced a few pieces of gold, and in ten minutes got under way with our sails full of the rising gale. As we passed the coast of Calabria ultra, our pleasure was extreme; because, the night before our departure, we had determined to run all hazards, and travel over it on horseback—a journey of four days at least. About sunset we had a most pleasing view of the volcanic little island of Stromboli, the ancient residence of *Æolus*; and, at eleven P. M. entered a small inlet under Cape Vaticano, 34 leagues from Scaléa. This made ample amends for our long week of confinement. The next morning we beheld Sicily before us; on

* We have a north wind, gentlemen.

our

our left was the southern extremity of Italy, and to the right the islands of Lipari. The sky was clear, the sun just risen, and the calm sea covered with boats employed in the anchovy fishery; so that upon the whole, I think I never saw a scene more cheerful. We rowed and sailed 30 miles along the shore, beholding many buildings ruined by the terrible earthquake of 1783, and about ten A. M. disembarked at Giöja, a little town, in which we hired a guide and three mules *haltered and packfaddled*, and rode through one of the most charming, though neglected countries of Europe, to the ruins of Oppido. What a scene of sorrow is there, what a glut of desolation! I remember to have shuddered at our newspaper recital of this destructive earthquake, but how faint a picture was that of the reality! I know not indeed how to describe it, as it resembles nothing in nature. Could you however bring your fancy to form an idea of the field of battle, on which Jupiter and the giants are represented to have hurled rocks and mountains at each other, when

when they disputed the government of heaven, you may conceive the appearance of Oppido and its neighbourhood. The ground on which the town stood is a continued heap of stones, and on the northern side near its castle is a deep winding valley, where the earth has gaped most tremendously, at the bottom of which are two large lakes. This calamity happened very early on the 6th of February 1783. The crush was so sudden, and so general, that six thousand people were buried under the ruins. In addition to this we observed all the way from Giöja, villages and houses rebuilt, and large olive trees, &c. torn up by their roots, and thrown in confusion one across another. Having regained our Speronara we re-embarked, and soon reached the Faro of Messina, where we entered the Straits that divide Sicily from the continent. The two countries were probably torn asunder at a period antecedent to all history, by such another earthquake as that of 1783: and so thought Virgil, who however only follows

follows the opinion of Æschylus and Diodorus Siculus.

Hæc loca vi quondâm et vastâ convulsâ ruinâ
Diffiluiffe ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit*,

ÆN. B. 3. l. 414.

The breadth of this channel is from four to twelve miles, and the length thirty. There is a continual ebb and flow in it, though no tides in the Mediterranean; the current running six hours one way, and six the other. As we sailed under the little town of Scylla, now Sciglo, we saw an immense rock, which in the late earthquake had been cleaved from the shore, and had fallen into the sea. You may remember

Imitated.

* These places they report as one, at first,
Which the convulsive earth asunder burst
With monstrous ruin; when th' impetuous tide
Rush'd in between, and the Hesperian side
Did from Sicilia's new-made isle divide.

that

that Æneas was advised by his prophetic countryman Helenus to beware of these Straits, where the currents and eddies are even in the present improved state of navigation most dangerous.

Ast ubi digressum Siculæ te admoverit oræ
Ventus, et angusti rarefcent claustra Pelori,
Læva tibi tellus, et longo læva petantur
Æquora circuitu, dextrum fuge littus et undas*.

ÆN. B. 3. l. 410.

As the Greeks personified mountains, rocks, trees, and rivers, we are not surpris'd to find that Scylla was the beautiful daughter of Phorcus and the nymph Cretis. Being beloved by the sea-god Glaucus, she incurred the jealousy and resentment of the enchantress Circe, who poisoned the fountain

Imitated.

* When you obliquely to Sicilia steer,
And the Pelorian Straits shall scarce appear,
Far to the left th' intended way explore,
Avoid the channel, and its dang'rous shore.

in which she used to bathe. The infected water instantly produced the change which the poet describes.

*Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus, postrema immani corpore priftis,
Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum*.*

ÆN. B. 3. l. 426.

And she to conceal her deformity, threw herself into the sea, where her lover Glaucus changed her into a rock. Her opposite neighbour Charybdis was a rapacious female, who stole the cows of Hercules, and, being struck for it by one of Jupiter's thunderbolts, underwent a similar metamorphose.

I believe, tradition never dies, if there be any thing supernatural in it. The sea-faring people of Messina will tell you, that

Imitated.

* In face a man, with breasts of woman kind,
A monstrous form below of fish and dog combined.

they

they often hear the rocks of Scylla resound
with the barking of her dogs.

“Cæruleis canibus resonantia Saxa*.”

ÆN. iii. l. 432.

Imitated.

* “Rocks yelping with their sea-green dogs.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LETTER XXII.

they often hear the
with the barkings



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"Hock's" helping with their leg-green dogs.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.